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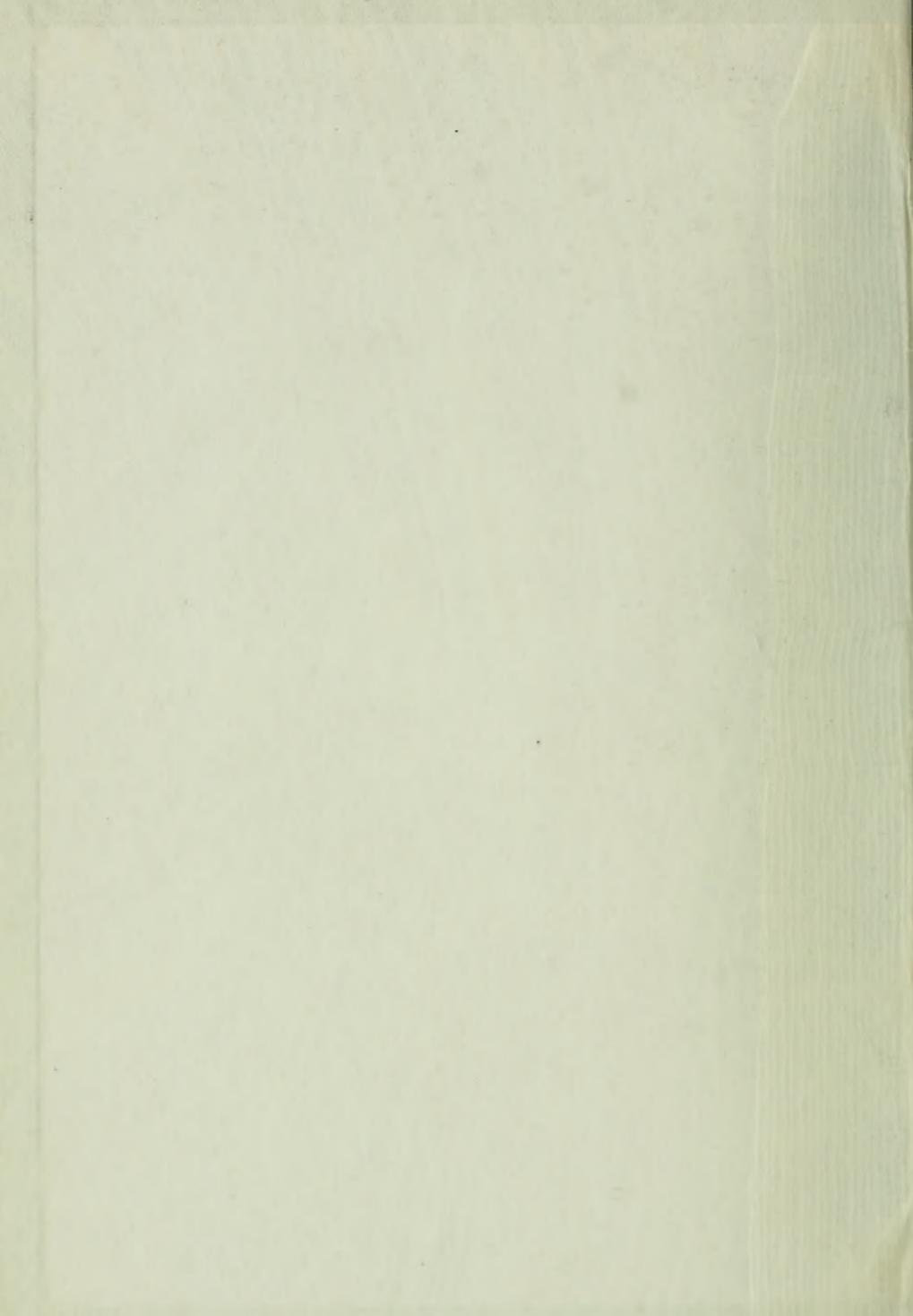
SECTION A

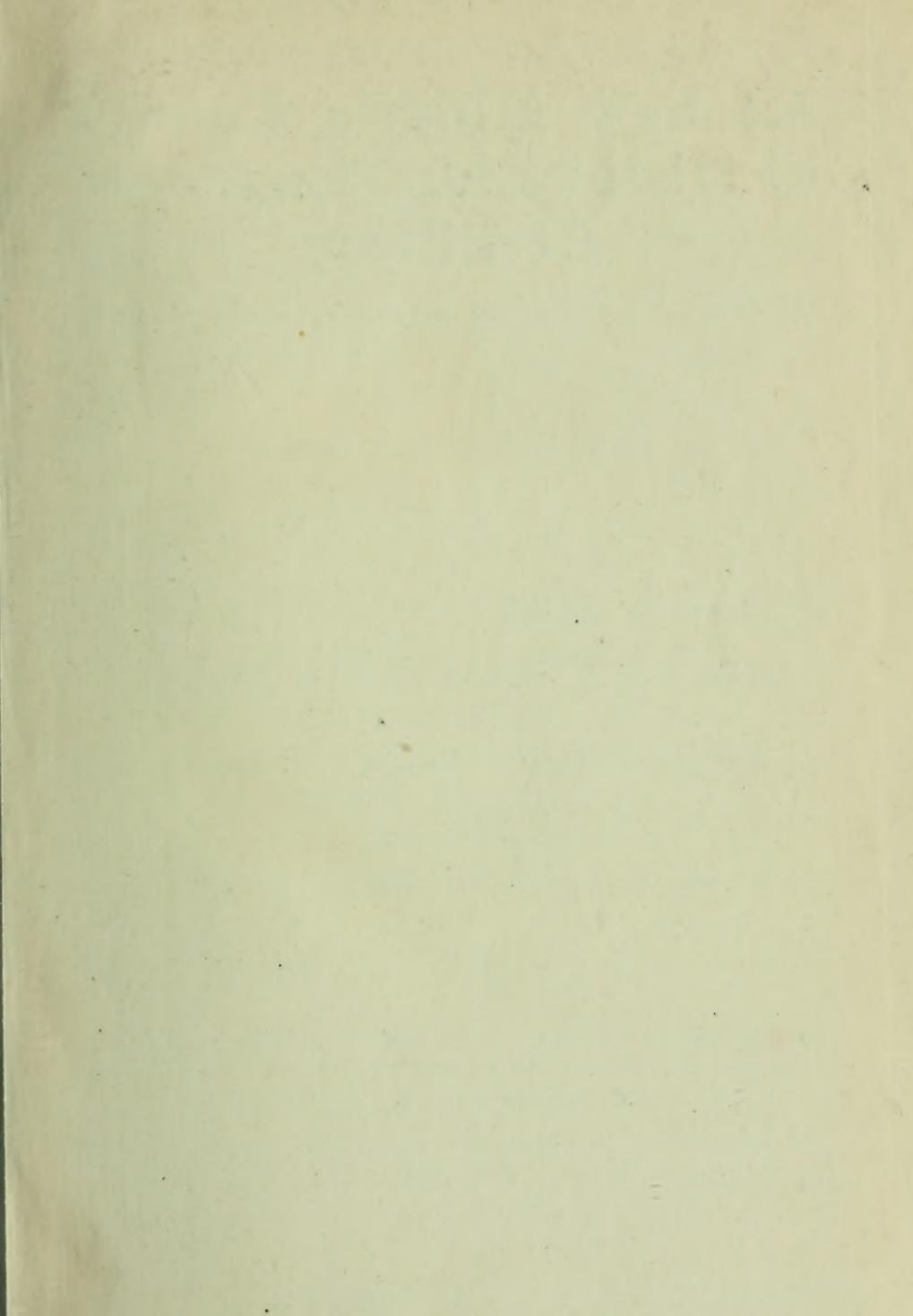
BY

JOHN EDGAR, M. A.



T. MASKEW MILLER — CAPE TOWN





Wassau, White's Course
of History for the Junior
Class.

Wassau, White's Course
of History for the Junior
Class.

Wassau, White's Course

2

Wassau, White's Course

Maskew Miller's Course of History for The Junior Certificate

(Standards 7 & 8 of the New Secondary School Course)

by

JOHN EDGAR M.A., Oxford

Consists of the following :

**Section A. History of South Africa to
the Act of Union.**

**Section B. The Making of Europe.
General History to the
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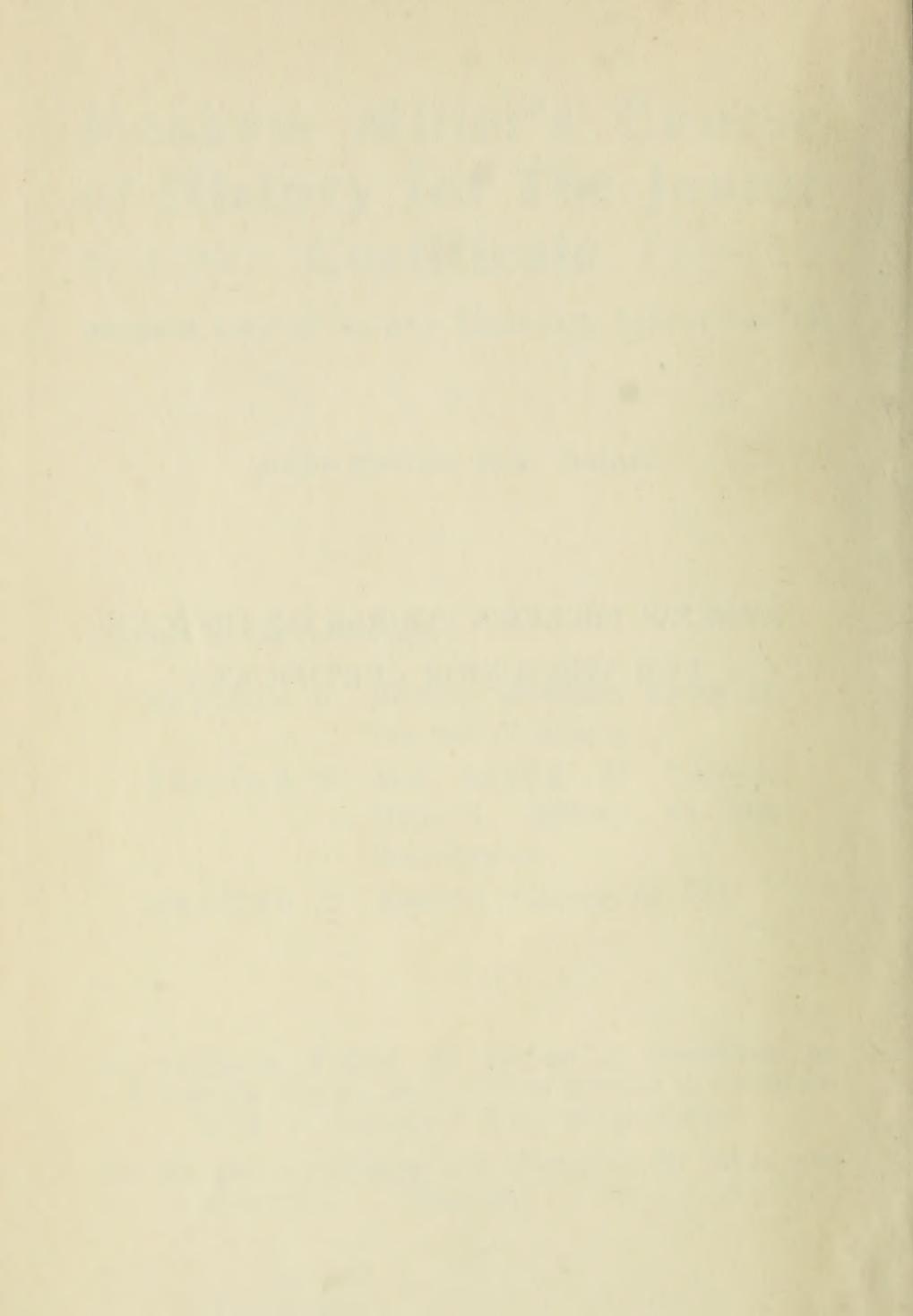
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MASKEW MILLER'S COURSE OF HISTORY
FOR THE JUNIOR CERTIFICATE



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MASKEW MILLER'S COURSE OF HISTORY FOR THE JUNIOR CERTIFICATE

(STANDARDS 7 AND 8 OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL COURSE)

SECTION A

HISTORY OF SOUTH-AFRICA TO THE ACT OF UNION

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(WITH MAPS AND CHARTS)



196916
29.6.25

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— CAPE TOWN —

E



PREFACE.

The present volume is an attempt to describe in broad general outline the significant movements of South African history. The principal difficulty in such a narrative is to select, from the wealth of original material available, those events which have had an important influence on the formation of the national character and the building up of the South African nation. Fortunately in the case of South Africa the broad lines of development are simple and clearly marked. The Dutch and Huguenot settlers whose joint efforts first created the South African nation were strongly animated by the principle of religious and political liberty which their ancestors had fought for in the great struggle with Spain in the 16th century, and in the wars between the Catholics and Huguenots in France. Their attachment to their religion and their spirit of independence are the best guides to their national history in South Africa. They explain the long struggle of the Dutch against the selfish monopoly claimed by Portugal and Spain in the Eastern trade, resulting in the establishment of the first settlement at the Cape and the formation of the Dutch East India Company. The first century and a half following the

settlement is mainly the history of the efforts of the colonists to escape the vexatious control of the Company and to live in their own way without outside interference. During the 19th century they struggled in the same way against the oftentimes vexatious interference of the missionaries and the frequently mistaken colonial policy of the British Government.

The Great Trek and their heroic struggles against the Zulus, the Matabele and the Basutos in founding their new settlements in the interior were the outcome of the same passion for independence; and finally there is the story of the struggle for representative and responsible institutions which paved the way for political union and complete self-government.

Fortunately for the historian, the history of South Africa is exceptionally rich in original authorities. Indeed, starting with the journal kept by Van Riebeeck, and continuing through the dispatches of the various governors, and the numerous accounts of contemporary residents and travellers, an interesting and continuous record of the history of South Africa could be written by means of selections from original sources alone. In a school text-book more especially, the history of the various periods can be made more interesting and vivid, as well as more reliable, by quotations from the original documents, and this must be my excuse for the somewhat numerous excerpts from original sources which are scattered throughout the volume.

I have purposely omitted any reference to the war between the English and the Dutch at the close of the 19th century except in so far as it had a bearing on the political and economic history and the movement towards union. This is necessary in my opinion, since

the events connected with that war are so recent as still to be a matter of political controversy, and are therefore unsuitable for inclusion in a school text book. In the happy union of the two great races which have made the South African nation and in the forgetting of past discords is to be found the best augury for its future prosperity as a self-governing people, justly proud of its past history.



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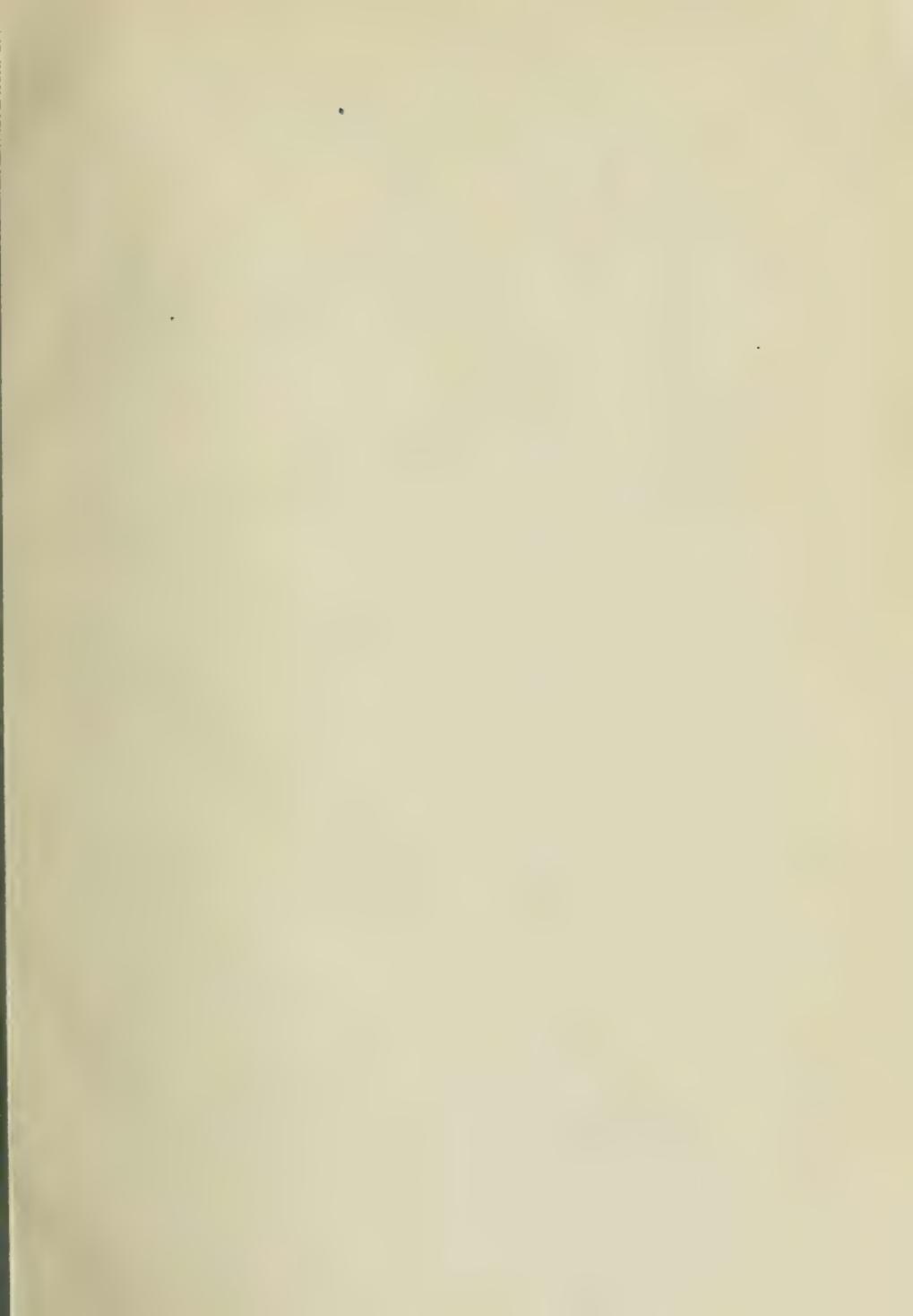
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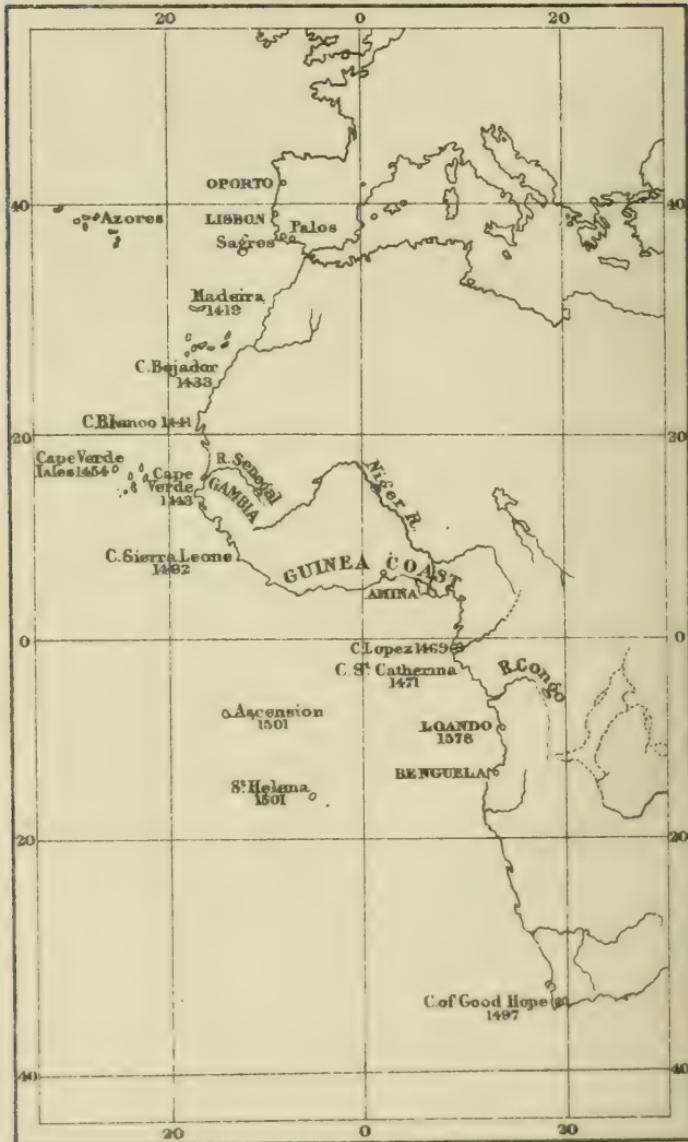
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PROGRESS OF PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY



CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE PORTUGUESE
AND THE CAPE.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

BEAZLY. Prince Henry the Navigator.
THEAL. History and Ethnography of S. Africa before 1795.
Vol I.
COLVIN. Romance of South Africa.

The history of Africa begins with the great name of Prince Henry the Navigator. For more than fourteen hundred years of the Christian era the western coast line and the interior of Africa were wholly unknown. Prince Henry's name stands first among the makers of African history because he was the pioneer in the work of exploration and discovery which gradually revealed the whole extent of the African continent to the people of Europe. Four great nations in turn have contributed their share to the making of Africa — the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English. The Portuguese were foremost in the work of discovery, the Dutch and the French together in the work of settlement and expansion, the English and Dutch in the task of government and development. There are thus three great periods in the evolution of the history of Africa, each of which has occupied a considerable time.

Importance of
Prince Henry's
work
in the history
of Africa.

The
re-discovery
of Madeira,
1418—1420.

The Portuguese period lasted about 230 years, reckoning from the early voyages of Prince Henry to the landing of Van Riebeeck. During the whole of this period the Portuguese were the dominant power in Africa, and that position had been won for them by the labours of their greatest explorer.

The first fruits of Prince Henry's explorations were the discovery or rather the re-discovery of the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira 1418—20. For a long period, until 1827, it was believed in Europe that these islands were then discovered for the first time; but on a map now in Florence, made by a Genoese in 1351, these islands are laid down with the names Islands of Wood, of which Madeira is a translation, and Porto Santo, the later name, which shows that they must have been known previously to the Genoese. But apparently no attempt had been made to colonize them till Prince Henry's time. Their very existence in fact had been forgotten.

In 1433, Prince Henry's father King John I of Portugal died, and on his death-bed he is said to have exhorted Prince Henry to persevere in his purpose of extending the Christian faith into the unknown regions of Africa. For many years previously Prince Henry had continued to send out annually two or three ships along the west coast of Africa, but for a long time progress was very slow. Twelve years elapsed before his vessels were able to pass the dangerous point of Cape Bojador. Superstition rather than lack of courage paralysed the efforts of the Portuguese seamen. Beyond Cape Bojador lay the Sea of Darkness, as it was called by the ancients,

Cape Bojador
rounded by
Gil Eannes
in 1434.

haunted by ghosts and evil spirits according to numerous legends. The first sailor who had the courage to pass this cape was Gil Eannes, who was sent out by Prince Henry in 1434. From that time the charm was broken. Unfortunately political troubles at home put a stop to the progress of these explorations for the next five years. But in 1440 they were resumed. In 1441 Nuno Tristram reached Cape Blanco or the White Cape. In 1446 Diniz Diaz reached the mouth of the Senegal; in 1447 he discovered Cape Verd. He is said to have been the first who brought back the real Guinea negroes to the Portuguese slave market. Numerous adventurers now applied to the Prince for licenses to trade, and the Guinea coast, till now unfrequented by European sailors, began to swarm with Portuguese caravels.

In 1460 Prince Henry died. The circumstances of his death are recorded by his faithful servant and captain Diego Gomez. "In the year of Christ 1460", he says, "the Lord Infant Henry fell sick in his own town, on Cape St. Vincent, and of that sickness he died on Thursday November 13th in the self-same year. And King Alfonso, who was then at Evora with all his men, made great mourning on the death of a Prince so mighty, who had sent out so many fleets and had won so much from Negroland, and had fought so constantly against the Saracens for the faith".

The work of exploration did not end with Henry's death. The Guinea trade, which had now become very profitable to the State, was farmed out to the highest bidder. Alfonso V in 1469 granted it to a certain Fernan Gomez for five years at an annual rent, on condition

Nuno
Tristram
reaches Cape
Blanco, 1441.

Death of
Prince Henry,
1460.

Progress made
after Prince
Henry's death

Fernan Gomez farms the Guinea trade 1469.

The Gold Coast reached.

The Portuguese pass the Niger.
Cape St. Catherine reached.

Diego Cam reaches the mouth of the Congo, 1484.

Voyage of Bartholomew Diaz.

Discovery of the Cape.

that he should in each year discover a hundred leagues of coast. During these five years, in consequence, great progress was made. The sailors of Gomez rounded Cape Palmas, passed the Ivory Coast, and reached the Gold Coast, where a few years later King John II founded a great Portuguese fortress, that of St. George da Minha. Before Alfonso V's death in 1481 the Portuguese had discovered the kingdoms of Dahomey and Benin, passed the Niger, and crossed the Bight of Biafra, where the coast begins to turn southward again, explored the island of Fernando Po, and reached Cape St. Catharine, two degrees south of the Equator — in all, ten degrees further than had been reached at the time of Prince Henry's death. From that time the process of exploration as far as the Cape of Good Hope took place with great rapidity. Diego Cam reached the mouth of the Congo in 1484, and in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz made his great voyage. He had been charged by John II to follow the coast-line without fail to its southern extremity. Passing beyond the mouth of the Congo — the extreme limit of Diego Cam's discovery — he followed the coast as far as Angra Pequena. From that point he stood out to sea, and driven on by westerly gales he rounded the Cape without knowing it, and at length reached Mossel Bay. Thereafter he sailed past Algoa Bay as far as the Great Fish River. He then discovered that he was sailing North-east instead of South, and by that he knew that he must have accomplished his task. He therefore turned back to the Cape, to which he gave the name of Cabo Tormentoso, and following the course of his outward voyage he returned to Portugal.

Ten years later another great effort of seamanship was made, which put Portugal into the possession of a far more important prize than the conquest of Guinea — namely the commerce with India and the East. In 1495 Don Manuel the Fortunate succeeded to the Portuguese throne, and Vasco da Gama was deputed to command the expedition, which was destined to complete the work of Prince Henry by carrying the Portuguese flag round the Cape to the shores of India. This was by far the greatest feat of seamanship ever attempted up to this time. Di Gama left Lisbon on the 8th July 1497, doubled the Cape on the 22nd November, and reached Mossel Bay on the 25th. There he remained 13 days. He started again on the 8th December, — passed the mouth of the Great Fish River — the farthest point reached by Diaz — on the 16th, and entered waters which had never before been traversed by European ships. On Christmas Day he reached the harbour which from that circumstance obtained the name of Port Natal. Thence he proceeded to the Bay of Lourenço Marques, where he stood out to sea, and on the 2nd March 1498 cast anchor in the harbour of Mozambique, — thereby effecting the long desired junction of the West with the East. At Mozambique he met with Mahomedan seamen and traders, who spoke the Arabic language and supplied him with pilots to conduct him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, which he reached on the 20th May. Calicut was the great centre of Arab trade, where the Mahomedan merchants purchased Eastern merchandise which they carried up the Red Sea and then overland to Cairo and

The voyage
of Vasco da
Gama.

He leaves
Lisbon, 1497.

Port Natal
reached.

Mozambique.

He meets with
Arab traders.

His voyage
across the
Indian Ocean
to Calicut.

Alexandria, whence they were distributed by European merchants to the different countries of Europe. Within fifteen years of Vasco Da Gama's voyage the Portuguese had ousted the Arabs from the Eastern trade and acquired a monopoly of it for themselves, chiefly through the efforts of their great Viceroy Albuquerque, who may thus be said to have completed the work begun by Prince Henry the Navigator so many years before.

The Arabs and
the Eastern
trade.

When Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape and landed on the East coast of Africa he found Moslem traders who supplied him with pilots to conduct him across the Indian Ocean to India. The Arabs had traded with India and the East from a period of remote antiquity. After Mohammed's time they had colonized a large part of the African coast, where they had numerous settlements, "white cities looking over the sea and flat roofed houses set in gardens and orchards, among palms and orange trees and pomegranates". The most important of these settlements were at Mozambique and Mombasa. When the Portuguese appeared, the Arabs had for centuries previously carried on a profitable and well-organised commerce from the Red Sea as far as Japan. Calicut on the Malabar coast of India was the great emporium of this Eastern trade. At Calicut the Mahomedan merchants purchased cinnamon brought from Ceylon and spices such as nutmegs, cloves, ginger, and pepper, from India and the Molucca islands, as well as silk and porcelain from China.

Their
settlements in
East Africa.

Calicut the
emporium
of the
Eastern trade.

The trade
route from
East to West.

Besides this trade route from West to East and back again there was another very old trade route from East

to West. Calicut was the meeting place of these two trade routes. To Calicut there came once a year a great trading fleet from the ports of China. This consisted of huge Chinese junks with gardens and growing vegetables aboard. The largest of them was said to carry a thousand people. These junks brought over the cloves and spices that were afterwards bought by the Mahomedan merchants at Calicut. Some time before the Portuguese appeared, the Arabs themselves had begun to push towards the Far East. They had an important station at Malacca, which had begun to rival Calicut as an emporium for the Eastern trade. From Malacca the Arabs had even made their way to the ports of China, where they had numerous establishments. So when the Portuguese arrived in the East, Calicut had become the market chiefly for the cinnamon of Ceylon and the ginger and pepper of India, while Malacca was the market for the produce of the Far East. Resident Arab merchants sold the cloves of Malacca, the nutmegs of the Banda Islands, and other spices, drugs, and perfumes from Java, China, and the Philippine Islands.

When the monsoons blew from the north-east, great fleets of Arab vessels sailed with these cargoes from Malacca and Calicut to the port of Aden in Arabia or the port of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. These were the two principal ports of entry. From Aden the cargo was taken up the Red Sea to Jeddah, and thence overland to Cairo. From there it was shipped down the Nile to Rosetta, thence taken by camels to Alexandria, where it was purchased by European merchants and distributed by them throughout Europe. If the cargo was

The Arabs and
the Far East.

At Malacca
and China.

Malacca
becomes a
rival market
to Calicut.

The ports of
entry in
Europe—
Ormuz
and Aden.

landed at Ormuz it was taken through Syria to Aleppo and Beyrouth. At all these ports very heavy dues were exacted, which more than quadrupled the cost of the merchandise. Spices were consequently very dear in Europe, and were luxuries only for the rich. Herein lay their value to the Portuguese. If they could capture the spice trade and carry it direct from the East to Europe by way of the Cape they would save these heavy dues and be able to reap enormous profits.

The builders
of the
Portuguese
Colonial
Empire.

War
between the
Portuguese
and Arabs.

The religious
motive.

Defenceless-
ness
of the Arabs.

Vasco da Gama had spied out the weakness of the land. His stories of the wealth of the East and the defencelessness of the Arab traders created a sensation in Portugal. Everyone now wanted to go to India. From this time on there was continual war between the Portuguese and the Arabs, until the Arab power was utterly broken and their trade ruined, while the Portuguese built up their Colonial Empire, became the masters of the India Ocean, and acquired for themselves a monopoly of the Eastern trade. It was a war of religion as well as of commerce, for the Mahomedans at that time were pressing in upon Europe, and the Portuguese by their discovery of the new route to India had turned the flank of the enemy of Christendom. In Europe the Mahomedans could more than hold their own; but in their struggle with the Portuguese in the East they never had a chance. The Arab fleets, if assembled together, would immensely have outnumbered the Portuguese. But the Arabs were peaceful traders. They had never had any competition to fear, for they had always possessed a monopoly of the trade. The Indian princes were generally friendly and welcomed them

to their ports. Their ships therefore were of the most primitive construction. The planks of their vessels were not even nailed together on account of the hardness of the wood which was used in their construction; they were fastened insecurely with wooden pins and cocoa-nut cordage. They were consequently useless for fighting purposes, and even in a moderate gale they soon became unmanageable. The Portuguese on the other hand knew far more about the art of navigation; and their ships, built for the stormy Atlantic, were stronger and better equipped. They understood the art of naval warfare and carried cannon and fighting men as well as merchants.

With such inequality of fighting power the issue could not long remain doubtful. "The Portuguese ships", Mr. Colvin tells us in his Romance of South Africa, "hung round the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and wherever the Arabs fled they sought them.... The Portuguese went everywhere, plundering, burning, murdering; they seized the Spice Islands and fought the Sultan of Calicut because he favoured the Moors, and they plundered the tombs of the Emperors of China". Within a period of less than twenty years the Arab power was completely broken and the Portuguese had made themselves masters of the East.

One can imagine with what terror these peaceful traders witnessed the first arrival of the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama in 1497. Hoping to deal the Portuguese a crushing blow at the very outset, the Arabs intrigued with the Indian Prince of Calicut and told him that the Portuguese were pirates and had come

The Arab and
Portuguese
ships
compared.

The
Arabs intrigue
against Vasco
di Gama.

to attack his country. The Prince, or Zamorin as he was called, detained Vasco da Gama and his companions as prisoners. Vasco da Gama himself narrowly escaped assassination. He managed however to come to a friendly understanding with the Zamorin and was allowed to take in a valuable cargo of spices, as well as rubies and other precious stones, with which he sailed for Europe and landed in triumph at Lisbon in 1498.

Makers of the
Portuguese
Empire.

Cabral.

His attacks on
the Arabs.

In the ensuing conflict between the Arabs and the Portuguese three names stand out — Cabral, Almeida, and Albuquerque. These men were the builders of the Portuguese Colonial Empire. Pedro Alvarez Cabral sailed in 1500 in command of the second expedition to India with a large fleet formidably equipped with artillery. The experience of Vasco da Gama had warned the Portuguese that they must be prepared for the hostility of the Princes of India, who had large and not ill-equipped armies. Cabral, on his arrival at Calicut, started the fighting between the Portuguese and the Arabs by capturing a Moorish vessel which he presented to the Zamorin. The Moors in revenge destroyed the station which the Portuguese had established on the Malabar coast and massacred its garrison. Cabral rejoined by destroying ten large Arab ships in the harbour of Calicut. From Calicut he made his way to Cochin, the Rajah of which was at war with the Zamorin, and in consequence friendly to the Portuguese. Cabral promised the Rajah that he would help him to add Calicut to his dominions, hoping to get the Rajah to assist him in conquering Calicut for the Portuguese. The Rajah of Cananor also received Cabral kindly and

promised free trade to the Portuguese. Cabral, having now crammed his ships with as much cargo as they could carry, returned to Lisbon.

Another expedition had started before Cabral's return. De Nueva had sailed from Lisbon for India with four ships and four hundred men. Since the Sultan of Calicut was hostile to the Portuguese and favoured the Moors, De Nueva made for Cananor instead, where he disembarked his traders. He then put to sea and defeated the Zamorin's fleet in its own waters, though Calicut still managed to hold its own for some time against the Portuguese.

The Portuguese now concentrated their efforts upon dislodging the Moors from Calicut and breaking the power of the Sultan. Vasco da Gama sailed with twenty ships on his second voyage with this object, and other commanders followed him. The Zamorin however continued to hold his own; but many Arab vessels were captured with rich spoils. Cochin and Cananor were still friendly, so the Portuguese could get as much spice as they could carry back to Europe. Portugal soon began to prosper greatly from this stream of wealth which kept pouring into her ports. Finally the Zamorin was defeated and slain by the Portuguese leader Duarte Pacheco. But the next Sultan was just as unfriendly. He sent an embassy to the Sultan of Egypt asking for help against the invaders. This action had an important effect in Europe, for the Sultan of Egypt sent word to the Pope that he would destroy all the holy places of Jerusalem if the Portuguese did not desist from attacking India. No attention was paid

De Nueva
defeats the
Zamorin of
Calicut.

Portuguese
attack upon
Calicut.

The
Portuguese
resolve upon
an organised
plan of attack.

Francesco
D'Almeida.

to this threat. Its only effect was to anger the Portuguese and make them renew their efforts on a larger scale. The Arabs by this time had abandoned the Malabar Coast to the Portuguese. They took a new route to Malacca and conducted all their business there. The Portuguese resolved therefore upon an organised attack which should destroy piecemeal the Arab power in the East. The first part of this programme was to capture Malacca which was the key to the Far East; secondly, to capture the Arab settlements on the East African Coast; and lastly to get possession of the ports of Ormuz and Aden which commanded the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

The conquest of the East African settlements was successfully carried out by Francesco d'Almeida, and the great Albuquerque devoted his life to the accomplishment of the rest. Mr. Colvin in his "Romance of South Africa" has given us a stirring account of D'Almeida's capture of the Arab town of Kilwa on the Eastern shores of Africa. "At dawn when the light was striking on the towers of the palaces and the minarets of the mosques the army landed. As it pressed through the narrow lanes the enemy rained stones and arrows and boiling oil from the flat tops of the houses, and the men-at-arms could neither reach them with their spears nor shoot them with their cross-bows. But they burst open the doors and so up the stairs to the roofs, and they chased the Moors like cats, running from house to house and jumping from street to street. Imagine the scene if you like — a white city with flat topped houses, a throng of spears and morions in the

narrow street, Moor and Christian on the roof, scimitar to sword, the one in steel armour, the other in the gay silks of Asia. Then the bursting open of the doors of the inner chambers, the shadowy harems, the quiet courtyards with pomegranate trees and vines and fountains, with steel clad men-at-arms everywhere killing and plundering, loaded with rare stuffs and great vessels of brass and silver. Then, when they had spoiled the place, gathering silks and spices, ivory and ambergris, in one great heap upon the shore, they set the town in a blaze, while the monks put up a cross and chanted the *Te Deum Laudamus*".

From Kilwa Almeida went on to Mozambique, which was taken and sacked in the same way. Soon afterwards, Almeida quarrelled with Albuquerque, just as in later times two great French leaders Dupleix and Labourdonnais came to blows in India. Almeida was disgraced and recalled by the King, and on his way back to Portugal he put in at Table Bay. There he met his death ingloriously in an obscure skirmish with the Hottentots near the Salt River on Woodstock beach. After Almeida's death Albuquerque completed the work of conquest during his period as Viceroy from 1509 to 1515. In 1510 he took Goa, which in 1559 became the capital of the Portuguese Empire in the East — so that from this time Goa took the place of Calicut as the centre of the Eastern trade. This was the largest colony established by the Portuguese. Many Portuguese settled there and received extensive grants of land.

Albuquerque then sailed for Malacca in 1511. A few Portuguese had already settled there for purposes of

Mozambique
taken.

Almeida
quarrels with
Albuquerque
and
is recalled.
His death at
Table Bay.

Albuquerque
Viceroy.
Goa captured.

Malacca
captured, 1511

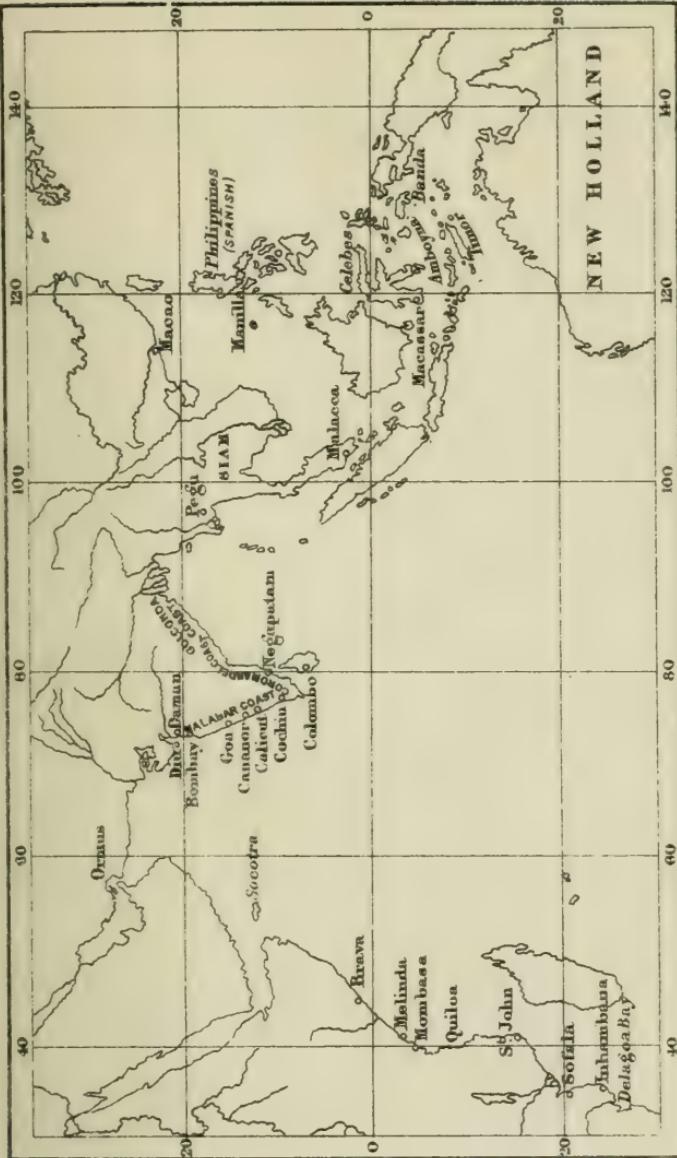
Fall of Ormuz.

Its
importance.

Death of
Albuquerque.

trade. But they had been attacked by the Arabs and many of them killed or imprisoned. When Mohammed, the Sultan of Malacca, refused Albuquerque's demand for their liberation and for the restoration of their property, Albuquerque sacked the town, set up a strong Portuguese fortress and built a church in honour of the Virgin. Malacca became the second capital of the Portuguese, and the base from which they gradually conquered all the Arab settlements in the Far East. Having now swept the Arab ships from the Indian Ocean and captured most of their settlements, Albuquerque set out to complete the last part of his task, the capture of Ormuz and Aden, the ports of entrance to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. If Aden fell, the other ports of the Red Sea, — Suez, Jeddah, and Mecca, would be at his mercy. Ormuz was the first to fall, Albuquerque sinking a fleet of 400 ships under its walls. This gave the Portuguese the control of the whole import trade from India to Persia, as well as through Mesopotamia to Aleppo and Beyrouth. Aden alone remained. Albuquerque was preparing a great expedition against it at the time of his death, but he did not live to complete the conquest. He died at Goa, and so great was the terror his name had inspired that the settlers of Goa would not allow his bones to be taken to Portugal, but had them buried there in the superstitious belief that they would be a protection to them against their enemies. In the half century succeeding Albuquerque's death his schemes of conquest were completed, except that his plan for seizing and holding the Red Sea had to be abandoned. In these fifty years the Portuguese

PORTUGUESE INDIES



colonial empire in the East reached the height of its power. Soon afterwards it began to enter upon its decline.

In this expansion of their territories and influence the Portuguese were actuated by three main motives; one was the spirit of adventure, which was the outcome of their long struggle against the Moors, the second was commercial avarice, provoked by jealousy of the wealth acquired by Venice through the Eastern trade. The third was religious fanaticism — the desire to overthrow the Mahommedan religion and convert the peoples of the East to the Catholic faith. These motives explain the general character of their Empire. The Portuguese were never colonisers in the proper sense of the word. They had no desire to found a new Portugal across the seas peopled by the inhabitants of the mother country. Their Empire consisted merely of a chain of factories and ports of call, strongly defended by fortresses against the attacks of other nations.

That is why the Portuguese influence upon the history of Africa was so very small, considering the fact that they were the first-comers and that they had no competitors until the Dutch came in 1652. All their African establishments were merely strategical points along the trade route to the East, ports of call where the ships could take shelter and provision themselves. The early Portuguese established such stations all along the African coast. But later on, when they came to know more about navigation, and their ships ceased to hug the coast line, these stations lost much of their value and came to be neglected.

The Cape itself, which has always since been held by

General
character of
the
Portuguese
Empire in the
East.

Motives
of Empire

The
Portuguese
not colonizers.

The
Portuguese in
Africa.

The Cape.

The
East Africa
settlements.

The search
for gold.

Expedition of
Francesco
Barreto.

the power which dominates the sea, was never much used by them. Their ships called occasionally to take in fresh provisions and water, but the Cape got a bad name after the murder of Almeida by the Hottentots, and the Portuguese preferred to take their ships right on to the harbour of Mozambique. The Cape was thus never occupied by the Portuguese, and even their East African settlements were very much neglected. The reason for this is plain. The natives of Africa were too barbarous to be of much use to them for purposes of commerce; the land was not fertile enough for the establishment of an agricultural colony, and no mines of gold were discovered to attract emigrants.

At first the Portuguese hoped to find gold in their East African possessions; for a tradition existed that inland from Sofala lay the land of Ophir. The Portuguese spent many lives and much treasure in trying to discover this land. A great expedition set out from Portugal on this quest under the command of Francesco Barreto in 1569; but the expedition was a complete failure. With infinite labour the party pushed its way some 200 miles up the Zambesi, and thence overland to Tete, hoping to find in the end the kingdom of Monomotapa. But their provisions failed them, their oxen died, the troops were attacked by dysentery and fever, and the natives proved hostile. A disastrous retreat had to be commenced; and of the well equipped expedition of 1000 men which had set out from Mozambique only 180 returned. Barreto himself died of fever and ague shortly after his return. A second expedition under a new leader Honem, after similar toil and suffering, at

length reached the country of the mines. They expected, says one of their chroniclers, to see everything gold, "to find it in the streets and woods, and to come away laden with it". All they found were one or two holes in the ground, with some Kafirs painfully washing out a few grains of gold dust.

Honem's expedition.

After these bitter disappointments the Portuguese lost interest in their African possessions. They served merely as convict stations, in the case of Mozambique, or they were abandoned to the zeal of the Jesuit missionaries, who were eager to convert the natives of South Africa to the Christian faith. It was through these Jesuit missionaries therefore that the Portuguese influence in South Africa was chiefly exercised. Nothing could exceed their bravery and devotion. The most famous of them was Da Silviera, who came from India, pushed his way up the Zambesi, and with the assistance of Portuguese traders penetrated to the capital town of the Monomotapa. There he suffered a martyr's death. His successors were more fortunate, and the Jesuit fathers exercised a beneficent influence over the natives of South Africa. Livingstone, in his voyage along the coasts of Angola and Mozambique, discovered the ruins of great buildings constructed by the Jesuits, and heard from the natives about a monastery of black Benedictines, and of tribes which had transmitted to their descendants the art of reading and writing which they had learnt from the Jesuit Fathers.

The Jesuit missionaries in Africa.

The fact that the Portuguese were traders merely and not colonizers accounts also for the peculiar character of their colonial policy, the main principle of which was

Colonial policy of Portugal.

to acquire an absolute monopoly of the whole commerce of the East to the exclusion of every other power. Competition would have reduced the proceeds, and the Portuguese aimed at gaining immense profits. This was precisely the policy adopted by the Dutch in later times. Unlike the Dutch however, they did not work their colonies through the medium of chartered companies. The whole control was concentrated in the hands of the Crown, and the traffic was worked as a Government monopoly. In theory the trade was free to all Portuguese citizens, but in reality it was fettered by so many restrictions as to be the monopoly of a very few. Lisbon was proclaimed to be the sole European port where the ships could land and discharge their cargo. Like the Venetians, the Portuguese did not even take the trouble to distribute their goods throughout Europe. The result was that the profits of distribution fell chiefly into the hands of Dutch merchants, who came to Lisbon and bought up the cargoes as they arrived.

Decline of the
Portuguese
empire—
and its causes.

1. Their
policy
of monopoly.

2. Its expense.

The decline of the Portuguese colonial empire was mainly due to the disastrous effects of such a mistaken policy. For one thing it involved them in great expense; to protect their monopoly they had to keep up costly forts and garrisons. The ships were large men-of-war carrying marines and soldiers as well as traders. This was necessary to protect their cargoes from the Dutch and the English, who, jealous of the Portuguese monopoly, were always roving the seas on the look out for the Portuguese ships.

This expense absorbed an enormous part of the profits they acquired through their monopoly of the trade.

There was a good deal of corruption also in the administration, the officers of the Crown using their position to amass wealth for themselves. The final blow to Portuguese prosperity fell in 1580, when Portugal became a dependency of Spain. Philip II seized the Portuguese throne; Spain thus fell heir to the Portuguese dominions in the East. Spain herself, as we have seen, already possessed a mighty empire in the New World, so that with the wealth of Portugal added she became the wealthiest and the strongest power in Europe. It was the wealth of her colonial Empire that enabled Spain to conduct her great religious wars in the sixteenth century — to fight the Dutch and to send the Armada against England. So long as Spain controlled the sea the Portuguese Empire in the East remained intact. But the Spanish sea-power was threatened by both the English and the Dutch. It was hopelessly broken by the defeat of the Armada in 1588. The loss of sea-power entailed the loss of her Eastern possessions, which began to fall one by one into the hands of the Dutch.

3. Corruption in the administration.

Portugal absorbed by Spain, 1580.

Wealth of Spain.

Spanish sea-power broken by the defeat of the Armada

CHAPTER II.

THE DUTCH COLONIAL EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA. AND IN THE EAST.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

THEAL.	South Africa (Story of the Nations).
LUCAS.	Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. IV.
COLVIN.	Romance of South Africa.
CORY.	Rise of South Africa. Vol. I.
MORRIS.	History of Colonization.

Causes of the
maritime and
commercial
greatness of
the Dutch.

Dutch
merchants at
Lisbon.

For a long period before the separation from Spain the Dutch had been famous in Europe as a great commercial and maritime power. Many different causes had contributed to bring this about. The Dutch as a nation had always been adventurous, industrious, and thrifty. Their geographical situation made them a great seafaring people. Before the discovery of the Cape route to the Indies they had been the rivals of the great Hanseatic League for the control of the Baltic. When Portugal acquired a monopoly of the Eastern trade, Lisbon, as we have seen, became the sole emporium for the commerce with the East. The Dutch of that time possessed a practical monopoly of the carrying trade, so all the Eastern products were bought up at Lisbon by the Dutch merchants, and distributed by them throughout the commercial centres of Europe — this being a task which the Portuguese disdained to per-

form for themselves. The Dutch in this way shared with the Portuguese the vast profits of the Eastern trade, the distribution of which became one of the chief sources of the commercial wealth of the Netherlands.

This continued without interruption throughout the long war of Dutch Independence. While Alva and the other Spanish generals were trying to stamp out rebellion in the Netherlands, the Dutch merchants came regularly to Lisbon to buy up the cargoes of merchandise which the Portuguese traders brought from the East. In 1580, however, an important event occurred, which threatened the ruin of Dutch commerce. In that year Portugal became annexed to Spain, and formed part of the dominions of Philip II. By way of punishing the Dutch for their rebellion against him, Philip II closed the port of Lisbon to the Dutch merchants and sailors. Two alternatives were left to the Dutch. Either they must renounce all trade with the Indies, upon which they chiefly depended for their commercial prosperity, or they must go to the Indies and capture the Eastern trade for themselves.

The Dutch did not hesitate for a moment. Every consideration was favourable to the success of so great an enterprise. The struggle for independence had just been brought to a successful issue. Willian the Silent had at last managed to organise the Northern Provinces into a federation which declared their independence of Spain. This produced a spirit of national enthusiasm, which inspired them to hazardous and heroic adventures. Following the natural bent of their genius, they turned to the work of commerce and industry that surplus stock

Absorption of
Portugal
by Spain 1580

Effect upon
the Dutch
commerce.

Invigorating
effect of the
struggle
for
independence.

The Dutch
resolve to
capture the
Eastern trade
from Spain.

of activity and self-confidence with which their political freedom had endowed them.

Linschoten. Many difficulties lay in their way. The route to the East by the Cape of Good Hope was a secret carefully guarded by the Portuguese, so the Dutch at first made several ineffectual attempts to discover a new northern passage to China and Japan. Then Linschoten, a Hollander who had spent many years in India, came home, and published an account of the trade and the navigation of the Indian Ocean. By the end of the 16th century Dutch ships had begun to sail round the Cape and take part in the eastern trade for themselves. This was made more easy by the blow which England had delivered at the naval power of Spain by the defeat of the Armada in 1588. From that time the maritime power of Spain began to decline, and Holland as well as England plucked up courage to attack the Spanish commerce. In 1607 the Dutch Admiral Heemskerk destroyed a great Spanish fleet in the Bay of Gibraltar, and this victory opened up to the Dutch free access to the Eastern trade.

The Dutch helped by the defeat of the Armada. Heemskerk's naval victory over Spain 1607. Formation of commercial companies. Until the end of the 16th century then, a large number of independent expeditions set sail yearly from the ports of Holland to India, and a free and prosperous commerce continued for many years. Numerous commercial companies began to form themselves. The first was formed by the merchants of Amsterdam in 1594. Other companies were afterwards founded, at Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Zealand. Before long it occurred to the Dutch that the trade would become more profitable and more certain if these separate operations

could be concentrated into the hands of one great trading company, since even in its decline the Portuguese power was too strong to be opposed successfully by isolated traders. In 1602 Barneveld decided to amalgamate all these small companies into one, called the Dutch East India Company. This begins the period of the great companies, among which the English and the Dutch East India Companies are the two great prototypes.

Many reasons contributed to make the great trading companies the chief and indeed the only instruments of commerce in those times. To protect their merchandise it was necessary to employ a large fleet of ships sailing together, containing soldiers as well as sailors, and munitions of war as well as articles of exchange. This was beyond the capacity of individual traders. Other difficulties also presented themselves. A rigid and almost military organisation was necessary, which could only be accomplished by a great and powerful company. Concessions had to be obtained from the Indian Princes, and the formation of a great company was the only method of resisting the arbitrary vexations which might be imposed upon their commerce by these petty sovereigns. In those days too, governments were very imperfectly organised. They had no consuls or agents such as they have now in all the different foreign ports to protect their national interests. States did not concern themselves with the protection of their commerce, and this compelled the merchants to take measures to protect themselves. The only way of accomplishing this was by combining into a company which was rich enough and powerful enough to command respect.

Formation of
the Dutch
East India
Company.

Reasons for
the formation
of great
companies:

1. Political
reasons.
2. Need for
protection
against foreign
powers.
3. Necessity of
a rigid
organisation.

Economic reasons.

1. Scarcity of capital.

2. Risks of commerce.

3. Absence of banks.

The organization of the Dutch East India Company.

The Chamber of Seventeen.
Its function and powers.

The Council of Batavia.

Besides these political reasons there were also economic reasons for the formation of great companies. Capital was scarce. There were few great private fortunes. Commercial undertakings were very hazardous, subject to all sorts of risks and adventures which are unknown at the present day. Ships were small and badly built, voyages were long, the art of navigation was imperfectly known, charts were few and unreliable, pirates were numerous, and foreign powers generally jealous or hostile. Only a great company could provide sufficient capital to protect its commerce against all these hazards. Then again in those days there were no great commercial houses, no banks, no system of credit or commission, little organization of commerce. This made commercial transactions very slow, difficult, and risky enterprises. These difficulties were to a certain extent overcome by the great trading companies. Fraud also was less possible. All these things together explain why the Dutch and the English founded the great privileged companies of those times.

The Dutch East India Company was a national institution as well as a private corporation. At the head was the Board of Directors — the Chamber of Seventeen — which held the general management of the company, the control of the political relations with the eastern peoples and Princes, the power of making treaties of commerce or alliance, the equipment of forts and other means of defence, the superintendence of the ships, and the general regulation of the trade.

The Chamber of Seventeen sat at Amsterdam, and in addition there was a Council at Batavia in Java, where

the Dutch established their head quarters in 1603.

Beneath the Board of Directors came the small commercial societies which together formed the Dutch East India Company. They remained for a long time distinct under the name of Chambers. Thus for example the Chamber of Amsterdam possessed by itself about 56% of the capital, the Chamber of Zealand 20%, the Chamber of Delft 7% and so on. The States General of the Netherlands nominated the Directors from a list of candidates sent up by the different Chambers.

Lastly the Chambers themselves were elected by towns or provinces which had contributed at least 50,000 florins of capital, so that every state and almost every town in Holland had some share in the control and profits of the company. Each of these different chambers provided at its own expense for the equipment of the ships and other necessaries under the supervision of its own directors. The Dutch East India Company was thus a kind of loose federation very much resembling the government of the Netherlands.

The Dutch colonisation, therefore, had from the beginning a purely commercial and mercantile character. Commerce was the one and only aim in all their colonial enterprises. The Dutch had nothing of the crusading spirit which marked the Spaniards and the Portuguese, or the spirit of adventure which was so prominent a feature in the French colonisation. Political ambition and the lust of conquest and empire were equally foreign to them, nor did they, like the English, aim at creating colonies where their countrymen could settle and make new homes for themselves. They did not

Duties of the Chambers.

Character of the Dutch colonisation.

Trade the sole aim of the Dutch.

Contrast to Portuguese, Spaniards, French and English. Little emigration.

Simplicity of aim the principal reason for their success.

The Dutch Commercial System.

Objects of the Company.

Restriction of the supply.

Economy in administration

The Dutch keep few fortresses and troops.
Also, avoid acquisition of territory.

They keep on friendly terms with natives.

And avoid expenses of administration.

emigrate in large numbers to the countries which they occupied. They were not missionaries, nor soldiers, nor adventurers, nor even, except in the case of the Cape, true colonists. They were traders only. It was this simplicity of aim that was the principal reason for their extraordinary success.

This fact explains the character of their commercial system. All their regulations were framed with one sole end in view, namely, to pay the largest possible dividends to the share-holders of the Company. According to the economic ideas of that time a complete monopoly of trade was considered essential. Competition had to be made impossible by the total exclusion of foreigners, and prices maintained by a careful restriction of the supply. Economy of administration was therefore one of the main objects of the Company. Thus when the Dutch had vanquished their rivals, the Portuguese and the Spaniards, they destroyed their fortresses instead of taking them for themselves. Forts and garrisons were too expensive. Similarly they avoided the acquisition of superfluous territory on the mainland in order to keep down the cost of administration and government. For the same reason they took pains to keep on friendly terms with the natives. They built as few factories as possible, preferring, as James Mill tells us, to make contracts with native merchants. To maintain their credit, they always took scrupulous care to fulfil their engagements. Generally speaking their aim was to exploit the wealth of the Indies without incurring the expenses of occupation and conquest.

The same aims are apparent in their relations with

their employees and with the native inhabitants. Excessive severity in the exercise of their monopoly and in the superintendence of their agents, absolute prohibition of any private trading, impartial reward of services rendered, scrupulous exactness in all their payments — these, Heeren tells us, were the principal elements of their credit and success.

Severity towards their employees.

Their system nevertheless had important defects even from an economic standpoint. The principal cause of their errors was the exaggerated idea they had of the importance of the spice trade, and their determination by all means to secure a monopoly of it themselves. At first they allowed the English to take part in it. Then they drove them and other foreigners from the Spice Islands, and reduced the natives to a condition not far removed from slavery. Their economic basis was thus too narrow. They sacrificed everything to the spice trade, in the wrong belief that a monopoly of one article of luxury was more profitable than free trade in a large number of useful commodities. To secure the exclusive privilege of the sale of spices they did not hesitate to commit any injustice or barbarity. To increase the value of their cloves and nutmegs and other spices they prohibited their production in a great number of islands, and to restrict supply and keep up the prices, the governors of the company made expeditions at fixed times each year throughout the islands to destroy the surplus stocks. Thus if the Dutch were saving one way they were very wasteful in many other ways. To guard their monopoly, they were compelled to have many establishments and a large army of officials for

Private trading forbidden.

Defects of the system.

Exaggerated ideas of the importance of the spice trade.

Evils of monopoly.

Economic basis too narrow.

Destruction of surplus stocks.

Difficulties of
inspection.

Massacre of
Amboyna
1623.

Corruption
in the
adminis-
tration

Hostility of
French and
English to
the Dutch.

Dutch
Establis-
ments in the
East Indies.

Admiral
Waerwijck.

Java settled.

The Moluccas
occupied.

Formosa.

the sole purpose of preventing smuggling and of keeping out rival competitors. In the island of Banda they destroyed almost the whole of the native population. Many other fertile islands, capable of supporting a large population, they reduced to uninhabited deserts. They massacred the English at Amboyna for the sake of the spice monopoly in 1623 and the Chinese at Java in 1720. Their barbarities often involved them in dangerous and costly wars with the infuriated natives and with insulted foreign powers. Not only so, but it was found impossible to control even their own employees. Private trading was carried on despite all the regulations of the company. Servants of the company with small salaries often returned to Holland in a few years with a fortune. The spice trade eventually proved their ruin. When it failed they had nothing else to fall back upon, and their endeavours to secure a monopoly brought upon them the hostility of the French and the English, which eventually broke their power.

The progress of the Dutch in the East was very rapid. As early as 1598 the Dutch Admiral Waerwijck, commanding an expedition of fourteen ships, destroyed a Spanish and Portuguese fleet and founded an establishment on the island of Java. Settlements were made on two of the Molucca Islands — Timor and Amboyna — in 1605 and 1607. Macao was next taken from the Portuguese and occupied by the Company. In 1624 the Chinese, and in 1648 the Japanese, opened their ports to the Dutch trade. The island of Formosa fell into their hands; expeditions were made as far as Australia and New Zealand. Establish-

ments were founded on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts as well as in Ceylon in 1658. The Cape was first taken possession of in 1652. The new city of Batavia, a kind of Eastern Amsterdam in the island of Java, was built in 1619 and became the seat of Government, the residence of the governor-general and the council of Batavia. At the height of their power, seven under-Governors were established at Malacca, Ceylon, Banda, Amboyna, Macassar, the Cape, and the Moluccas. In addition to all this, the Dutch occupied Brazil and the Colony of New Amsterdam in North America.

Dutch
establis-
ments
on the coasts
of India and
Ceylon.

Occupation of
the Cape 1652.

CHAPTER III.

THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT. THE RULE OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The Cape was the only real Colony founded by the Dutch in this period. From the time when Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, many ships belonging to different nations had visited its shores, and it seems strange that no settlement was established there until the Dutch occupation in 1652. Some account of these early notices of the Cape will be found interesting as a prelude to the story of the Dutch Colonisation. The first Dutchman to round the Cape was Linschoten, who sailed in a Portuguese vessel in 1583. He speaks of the Cape as "the greatest hook or cape that reacheth furthest into the sea of any cape whatsoever in all the world". Sir Francis Drake, more fortunate than most of his predecessors, rounded the Cape in fair weather on his return from his voyage round the world in 1580. "The Cape", he says, "is most stately and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth". Early in the 16th century one of the Portuguese commanders is reported to have recommended to the Portuguese Government that a post should be established somewhere on the shores of South Africa. No such step was taken however, and the Por-

Early notices
of the Cape.

Linschoten.

Sir Francis
Drake.

tuguese, after the murder of Francesco D'Almeida in 1510, seldom landed at the Cape. Several English ships also touched at the Cape in early times, and in 1620 two English sailors in the service of the East India Company, Andrew Shilling and Humphrey Fitzherbert, took possession of the country in the name of their sovereign King James. Nothing followed from this. King James was not the kind of sovereign to interest himself in such remote schemes. Thus for the first century and a half after its discovery the Cape remained unoccupied by any European nation. It was useful only as a place for taking in fresh water and for leaving letters under stones near the shore for the information of ships on their outward and homeward voyages. Many of these carved stones have been unearthed from time to time, and some of them may be seen at the entrance to the Post Office in Cape Town.

In 1648 a Dutch ship called the Haarlem was wrecked in Table Bay. The crew landed, and lived for five months on the produce of the vegetables which they grew, and the cattle and sheep which they bartered from the natives. When they returned to the Netherlands, two of them in 1649 presented a memorial to the directors of the East India Company, showing, *as many others had done before*, the advantages to be derived by the Company from a fort and garden at the Cape of Good Hope. It is interesting to see from this memorial what their chief motives were. A great deal of produce could be realised, they point out, owing to the fertility of the soil and the excellence of the climate. A plentiful supply of fresh

English ships
at the Cape.

Shilling and
Fitzherbert
1620

Cape merely
a place of
call.

Events leading
up to the
Dutch
occupation of
the Cape.

Wreck of the
Haarlem 1648.

Directors
petitioned to
form a
settlement.

Advantages to
be derived
from the
establishment
at the Cape.

Appointment
of
Van Riebeeck.

Johan
van Riebeeck.

meat and vegetables could be provided for the passing ships, and scurvy could thus be prevented. Water could be taken in with greater ease; the sick could be landed and restored to health. Wrecks could be prevented by "two or three sloops being stationed there to pilot ships to safe anchorage during darkness or calm". Cattle could be bartered from the natives, who also might be useful as servants; some of them "might be educated in the Christian religion, by which means, if Almighty God blesses the work, as he has done at Tayouan and Formosa ,many souls will be brought to the Christian Reformed religion and to God". Lastly the Spaniards and Portuguese would be prevented from lying at the Cape and attacking the Dutch ships on their homeward voyage.

Van Riebeeck, who had remained three weeks ashore at the Cape, to ship the goods saved from the Haarlem, wrote a report on this memorial, confirming the truth of its statements and adding some advice regarding the most suitable spot for the establishment of the fort and garden. After about two years consideration of the matter, in 1651 the Chamber of Seventeen approved of the plan and appointed Johan van Riebeeck to establish the settlement. The expedition, consisting of three ships, left Holland on Christmas Day 1651, and landed at the Cape on 6th April 1652.

Van Riebeeck proved to be an excellent choice on the part of the Directors. He had spent ten years as a surgeon in the service of the Company. He knew the East Indies, and had voyaged as far as China. He had been in the Caribbean Islands and had made

himself acquainted with the whale and seal fisheries on a visit to Greenland. He was in every way an able and devoted servant to the Company. He brought with him a band of settlers numbering about 100, some of them gardeners and artisans, but the majority were soldiers and sailors, employed in the East Indian service of the Company — none of them real colonists. With the exception of the commander few brought their families with them. None of them intended to settle and make their homes in the country. Even Van Riebeeck hoped soon to be sent to India, and within a year he petitioned the Directors as follows: "We now most humbly and respectfully pray, that you will think of our removal and promotion to a better and more respectable employment in India, as not much cleverness is required among these dull, stupid, lazy, and stinking natives.... where nothing else is to be done but bartering some cattle and sheep, which requires very little cleverness". Yet he was kept at the Cape, much to his disgust, for ten years, and then became an under Governor of the Company at Malacca.

Van Riebeeck's instructions were very simple, and admirably illustrate the policy of close-fisted economy pursued by the Dutch East India Company. "A fort was to be built to bear the name of the Good Hope, with accommodation for seventy or eighty men"; a garden was to be made, "the best and fattest ground, in which everything planted or sown would thrive well". A good understanding with the natives was to be cultivated, and regular correspondence in all matters was to be kept up with the Company. Nothing

His Character.

Absence of
true colonists.

Progress of the
settlement.

Instructions
issued to
Van Riebeeck.

Fort built.

was said about the appropriation of the land or the extension of the settlement. Van Riebeeck carried out these orders carefully. A square fort was built under great difficulties. The landing had been made at the beginning of winter, and the work was much hampered by heavy rains and sickness and storms. Then the garden was laid out, and in a few months enough vegetables were grown to supply the fort and the passing ships. Two months after their arrival the chaplain's wife gave birth to the first Afrikaner.

The natives
at the Cape
and their
relations with
the Dutch.

As we have seen, Van Riebeeck did not think much of the natives. Of the three native races of South Africa — the Bushmen, the Bantus, and the Hottentots, — the Dutch at first only came into contact with the first and the last. The Hottentots or Hottentos as Van Riebeeck calls them, were not very high in the scale of civilization, somewhere perhaps between the natives of Australia and the North American Indians. They were a nomadic and pastoral race, with little knowledge of agriculture. They were neither good workers nor good fighters. Two traits in their character struck Van Riebeeck most — their laziness and their thieving propensities. They were useless to the Dutch as servants. In course of time he found them willing to exchange their cattle for brass, copper wire, and tobacco, but they caused great annoyance to the garrison by constant thefts of cattle and property. They stole the sailor's clothing as it lay drying on the shore; they tore the brass buttons from the children's clothes. "They are merely a parcel of thievish rogues", says Van Riebeeck in a report to the Directors in 1650, "from

The
Hottentots.

Their
character.

whom continually we have suffered only insults, injury, and annoyance.... nor do they refrain from robbing us whenever they can, nor even from threatening to murder us, should they meet one of us alone and unarmed, a thing happening every day". Nevertheless he faithfully observed his instructions to keep on friendly terms with them, though his patience was often sorely tried. No ill treatment by the Dutch sailors was allowed, and no trade or intercourse between the two races authorised except through the Company's representatives. On one occasion he requested the Directors to allow him to seize all their stock "of which they possess about 1100 or 1200 cattle and 6000 sheep — the finest in the land". But he was apparently overruled, for we hear nothing more about the matter.

The main grievance of the Hottentots against the Dutch was their occupation of the land, which meant to them the loss of so much pasturage. In April 1660 Van Riebeeck writes as follows in his journal "They further maintained their grievance, that we had more and more taken of their lands for ourselves, which had been their property for centuries and on which they had been accustomed to depasture their cattle. They asked whether they would be allowed to do the same thing if they came to Holland, and added that it would have mattered little if we had confined ourselves to the fort, but that instead we were selecting the best land for ourselves, without asking them whether they liked it or not, or whether they were inconvenienced or not". Their grievances on this occasion however do not appear to have depressed them unduly for we

Treatment of
the natives
by the Dutch.
Grievances of
the
Hottentots.

Occupation of
the land.

The Cape
bought from
the
Hottentots by
the Dutch
1672.

Absence of
any stimulus
from
competition
and of
foreign rivals.

Reasons for
the immunity
of the Cape
from foreign
interference.

read a little later on at the close of the interview, that "the chiefs and all the principal men, about forty altogether, were presented with copper beads and tobacco, as well as with food and liquor, and so well treated that all became very merry, so that if we had so wished it, we might have kept them all in our power". Van Riebeeck pleaded for further instructions on this point from the Directors, and finally in 1672 the Cape was bought from the Hottentots by the Dutch, though it is only fair to add that the amount paid was only a minute fraction of the sum mentioned in the deed of sale.

The main reason for the slow progress of the colony was the absence of any stimulus from competition. In America and Canada the English were stimulated by the hostility, first of the Spaniards, and then the French. Watchful and vigorous foes on their borders compelled them to be alert and progressive. The Dutch never came under such a bracing influence. They were in a very remote corner of the world, and were hardly ever disturbed by the fear of foreign invasion. Van Riebeeck's diary it is true, is full of alarms at the rumours of French and English attacks, but until the end of the 18th century the Dutch had never to fight for the possession of their colony. Several reasons account for this remarkable immunity. The Cape was too small and too insignificant to excite the jealousy of other nations. The English had St. Helena as a port of call, the French had Madagascar, the Portuguese had Mozambique. The Dutch were very careful to avoid incurring the hostility of foreigners. The French were not strong enough on the sea to attack the Cape; they were too much involved

in European wars, and in the task of holding their own against the English in America. The English had nothing to gain by taking the Cape unless it were to prevent it from falling into the hands of some unfriendly power like the French — a motive which did not operate till the end of the 18th century. In such security the Cape remained all through the 17th and 18th centuries.

The method of government of the Cape by the Company had much the same tendency. There was no self government such as fostered public spirit and self reliance in the English colonies of America. The Cape was only a link in the long chain of Dutch stations and factories. The same political system was applied to it that prevailed in the other parts of the Dutch Colonial Empire. The Government was purely despotic. The commander of the Cape had little freedom of action. He had to take orders from both Batavia and Amsterdam, and, as Theal points out, when officers of higher rank than himself visited the Cape, they superseded him for the time being. He had a council composed of his principal officers, whom he consulted on matters of legislation and administration. The only form of self-government was to be found in the burgher councillors. In 1657 one representative of the colonists was allowed to sit and vote in the Council of Justice when a fellow-colonist was undergoing trial. After a time, half of the High Court of Justice was composed of these burgher councillors. Later on came the Heemraden, the local officers of the country districts, but it was only in justice and local affairs that the colonists had any share in the government.

System of government.

No self government.

Despotic nature of the government.

Position of the commander.

His council of policy.

Council of justice.

The burgher councillors.

The Heemraden.

Free
settlers
allowed to
occupy land
at
Rondebosch
1655.

Restrictions
imposed on
the colonists
by the
Company.

Discontent of
the colonists.

At the beginning of the Dutch occupation there were no colonists at the Cape farming their own land. All the settlers were the paid servants of the company. Within three years however, it became clear that the settlement could not become self-supporting without farmers to till the land, since all the grain had to be imported from Batavia. In 1655, therefore, a certain number of the Company's servants were given their discharge and were allowed to occupy land for themselves. In this way the settlement soon spread as far as Rondebosch, six miles from the fort. There the winds were less troublesome, and the land was more suitable for the raising of crops. Free colonists however were unknown in the Dutch colonial system. From the beginning the colonists were hedged about by restrictions which hampered their progress.

The Company had advanced them funds to start their farms, and in return it placed them in a condition of semi-servitude. The colonists had to sell their grain to the Company at a fixed price. They were not permitted to buy cattle from the natives. They were not allowed to sell vegetables to the ships in the Bay until they had first supplied the garrison. It is little wonder that the farmers were dispirited and discontented. Numerous petitions were presented to the company without effect. In 1776 one of the Dutch commissioners who visited the Cape, said: "the Dutch colonists here bear the name of freemen, but they are so limited and restrained in everything, that the absence of freedom is rendered only too evident".

Apart from the restrictions imposed by the Company,

one of the chief difficulties of the farmers was the lack of an adequate labour supply. The Hottentots were useless for agricultural work, and Van Riebeeck advised the Directors to introduce slaves from Madagascar. He even went so far to advocate the introduction of Chinese, for in the letter written on April 7 1656 he says: "It would be a desirable matter if some free and industrious Chinese could be induced to come hither with the slaves in order to earn a living, especially by rice planting". In another letter of the same year he recommends the Directors "to send on Chinamen from Batavia as they are a very industrious nation and in order to gain their liberty might be employed here for some years in agriculture and thus render great service to the Company. As a result the first two cargoes of negro slaves from Angola and Guinea were landed at the Cape in 1658. The experiment was not a success. Most of the slaves ran away, and the remainder gave so much trouble to the farmers that they were glad to hand them back to the Company. Later on, more successful experiments were made with slaves imported from Madagascar and Malay. The treatment of the slaves seems to have been somewhat better than in the West Indies or in Virginia. The Cape, however, did not become a distinctly slave owning Colony until late in the 18th century. As late as 1754 the number of slaves was only a little more than that of the free colonists.

Under such a system it is not surprising to find that the settlement made very slow progress. In 1657 the total European population was only 134 — 100 of them being servants of the Company. In 1662 the number

Lack of an adequate labour supply.

Introduction of Chinese advocated 1656.

Negro slaves imported from Angola and Guinea.

And from Madagascar and Malaya.

Slow progress of the settlement.

had only risen to 600, 64 of them being free colonists. Ten years later the number remained very much the same. It was not till 1679 and 1680, that farmers began to till the land at Stellenbosch. Nothing was known of the interior, and little was done in the way of exploration. In 1657 the Great Berg River was discovered, and in 1660 the Oliphant's River. Namaqualand was visited by Simon van der Stel in 1685. The Orange River was not reached for another 75 years. The coast line was of course better known, and in 1689 the Bay of Natal was purchased by the East India Company from one of the native chiefs, but no use was made of the purchase, and little general progress took place until the arrival of the Huguenots in the time of Simon van der Stel, towards the end of the 17th century.

Further
reasons for
the lack of
progress.

Absence of
emigration
from Holland.

Geographical
difficulties.

It is not fair, however, to blame altogether the Dutch people or the East India Company for the lack of progress made in South Africa during their period of rule. It was impossible for the Dutch to become great colonisers. The Dutch were a small people. Their country was not overpopulated. There was no poverty to compel emigration — they passed through none of the religious and political disturbances in the 17th century, such as caused Englishmen to emigrate to America. Even if they had been a colonizing people there were special difficulties to be overcome in South Africa. There were no navigable rivers as in America, and few good harbours; the interior was barred by an inaccessible range of mountains; no rich mines of gold or silver had been discovered to attract colonists. Lastly there were political reasons for the lack of emi-

gration. Lucas points out that the Cape was colonized by the Dutch too late in their history. "Had South Africa", he says, "been settled fifty years earlier, it is conceivable that its fortunes as a Dutch Colony would have been greater. Its years of childhood would have coincided with the rise of the Netherlands, and in its adult stage its growth might have been aided and sustained by a still growing motherland. As it was, when the natural time of expansion came at the Cape, the Netherlands were, so to speak, advanced in years — the strain of perpetual wars had told on the Dutch nation. It was all that, and more than, they could do to hold their own. Hence even if the numbers of the Dutchmen had been greater than they were, even if their policy had been other than it was, they came too late in their history to South Africa to make it a new Netherlands".

Political
reasons for
slow
development.

CHAPTER IV.

SIMON VAN DER STEL. THE ARRIVAL OF THE HUGUENOTS.
ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL.

The greatest of the Dutch commanders at the Cape in the 17th century is Simon van der Stel. His period of rule extended from 1679 to 1699. He was the son of Adriaan van der Stel, a commander of the Company at Mauritius, and he was born there in 1639. He went to school at Amsterdam, and remained in Holland in the service of the East India Company until he received the appointment of Commander of the Cape in 1679. In every respect he was well fitted for the post. He was a man of much higher social rank than Van Riebeeck, and was connected by marriage with one of the oldest families in Amsterdam. He displayed the same energy as Van Riebeeck had done in the administration of the settlement. He encouraged agriculture, and brought new districts such as Stellenbosch and Drakenstein under cultivation. He was a great explorer, both of the coast and of the interior. He settled the Huguenots in the country, encouraged emigration, administered justice with an even hand, and exercised a generous hospitality, which endeared him to all the strangers — English as well as Dutch — who visited the Cape at this period.

Immediately upon his arrival he explored the valley of the Eerste River, and was much impressed by its abundance of water, its beauty and fertility. He saw that it might be made the home of many prosperous families. He called it Stellenbosch — the wood of Van der Stel — and induced families of white settlers to leave the Cape peninsula and make their homes in the new settlement. He wrote to the Chamber of Seventeen reporting his discovery and making an earnest application for emigrants to be sent out from Holland to take up farms there. But here the old difficulty cropped again. "We see very little chance", the Directors wrote in reply, "of being able to provide you from this quarter with industrious farmers, because people who will work can at present earn a very good livelihood here and there is no want of land to work upon". He was successful however in inducing farmers who were already in South Africa, to take up land at Stellenbosch, and within five years 99 families were farming in the valley. A landdrost was appointed, and a Council of four burgher Heemraden to manage local affairs. Agriculture was encouraged by the stipulation that the land was to belong to the colonists in full property upon the condition of its being brought under cultivation. Failing that condition, the company reserved the right of reclaiming it. A stimulus was given to cattle breeding by granting the colonists of Stellenbosch free use of all land not under cultivation, and by exempting it from any tax on the part of the company.

Similarly, in 1687, a second settlement was formed

The
settlements at
Stellenbosch
and
Drakenstein.

Simon
petitions the
Chamber of
Seventeen
to send
emigrants
from Holland.

The reply of
the Directors.

Encourage-
ment
of agriculture
and cattle
breeding.

Settlement at Drakenstein.

a little further inland at Drakenstein, in the valley of the Berg River. It received its name in honour of the Dutch High Commissioner Van Rheede tot Drakenstein, Lord of Mydrecht in Holland, who had spent some time at the Cape on his way to report upon the government of the company in the Cape and in the East Indies. The same wise conditions of cultivating the land were enforced here as at Stellenbosch. By 1684 the Cape had become self-supporting, and in that year the first export of grain was made to the Indies, and in 1688 Cape wine was sent to Ceylon.

Export of grain and wine

With the same object of increasing the number of colonists, Simon van der Stel wrote to the Directors in 1685, "Our colonists chiefly consist of strong, gallant, and industrious bachelors, who for the solace of their cares and for the managing of their domestic concerns would most gladly be married; and as such bonds would establish the colony upon an immovable basis and much increase the zeal of the freemen for agriculture, we have deemed it proper most respectfully to request Your Honours that for the attainment of those desirable objects thirty or forty young girls may be sent to us as soon as possible, all of whom would be well disposed of at this place." The Directors favoured this scheme and made application to the orphan homes of Amsterdam and Rotterdam to allow marriageable girls who felt so inclined to emigrate to the Colony. Very few however were found willing to leave Holland, though during several years small parties of seven or eight at a time emigrated to South Africa and were married to the most prosperous of the Cape farmers.

Emigration of Dutch girls from the orphan homes of Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

But the most famous scheme of colonization associated with the name of Van der Stel, and the one that had the greatest influence upon the history of the colony, was the emigration of the Huguenots, which began in 1687. From 1670 onwards large numbers of Huguenot refugees had flocked into Holland to escape the persecutions inflicted upon them by Louis XIV. Then came the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which not only deprived them of their civil and religious freedom, but prohibited their emigration from France. In spite of this prohibition, the Huguenots began to leave France in thousands. Many of them emigrated to England and Germany, but the majority of them crowded into the already overpopulated Netherlands.

The Directors of the Dutch East India Company were not slow to seize the opportunity of providing colonists for the Cape. In the autumn of 1687 the Directors wrote to Van der Stel, that they were about to send "some French Refugees from Piedmont — all of the Reformed Religion — among them you will find men skilled in the husbandry of the vine, and some who understand the making of brandy and vinegar, whereby we anticipate that you will find the want of which you complain in this respect satisfied. It will be your duty, as these people are destitute of everything, to render them every assistance on their arrival, until they are settled and can earn their own livelihood. They are industrious people and easily contented." No news could have been more welcome to Van der Stel. In his reply he said: "If they behave themselves as piously and industriously as their fellow countrymen, who have settled

The
Huguenots.

Persecution of
the Huguenots
by Louis XIV.

Effects of the
Revocation of
the Edict of
Nantes 1685.

The Directors
resolve to
send
Huguenot
emigrants to
the Cape.

Treatment
of the
Huguenots
by the Dutch.

here lately, they will benefit and strengthen the country in a wonderful degree, and excite much emulation among the Dutch."

The Huguenots emigrated to South Africa under the most generous conditions. They were provided with free passages and gratuities for outfit. On their arrival farms were allotted to them in full property without payment. Farming stock was supplied to them upon credit at the cheapest price. Simon van der Stel got the Dutch farmers to lend them their transport wagons to convey them to their new homes. A fund was started among the colonists at the Cape, and a large sum of money — no less than 6000 rix dollars — was sent from Batavia and distributed by Van der Stel himself among the Huguenot settlers. A French Huguenot clergyman, Pierre Simond, was engaged to proceed to the Cape at a salary paid by the company. Thus did Van der Stel fulfil his promise to the Directors, when he wrote: "We shall lend a helping hand to the French fugitives and give them proofs of Christian love by putting them on their legs."

Generosity of
the Company
to the
colonists.

Dissatisfaction
of the
Huguenots
and its causes.

At the same time the Directors did not mean to allow the Cape to become a French colony. The emigrants had to take the same oaths of allegiance as were required of all persons born in the United Provinces. They were not allowed to form a separate community, but were scattered about among the Dutch settlers. The Huguenots were greatly opposed to this, and petitioned the Governor not to separate them. But Simon van der Stel remained firm. While allowing them their French minister he refused them independent government of their own Church. This also was a sore point with the

Huguenots, as was also the condition that they should not have French teachers, but Dutchmen who were acquainted with the French language, and that their children should be taught Dutch. Van der Stel wisely aimed at their rapid absorption among the Dutch colonists and in a few years this was completely secured.

The numbers of the Huguenots who arrived at this time have been variously estimated. They came out in small parties spread over a number of years. Francois Leguat, a Huguenot who visited the Cape in 1798 said that it "has been frequently augmented and is almost every day by a considerable number of French Protestants". Despatches of the time estimate the total number of the Huguenots at 155. Theal is of opinion that at no time did the French number more than one-eighth of the total European population in South Africa. And it must also be remembered that not all of the European population were Dutch; many were Germans, Swedes, and English. Few as they were, however, the Huguenots exercised an influence upon the colony out of all proportion to their numbers. They were true colonists in the best sense of the word. They came out with their wives and families intending to make South Africa their home. They were of the best Puritan stock, imbued with a strong love of political and religious liberty. In addition they were skilled farmers and artisans of a better type than most of the discharged sailors and soldiers of the Company. They taught the Dutch wine making, and introduced better methods of agriculture. Intellectually they were superior to the Dutch, and it is to this intellectual superiority that their strong influence

Influence
of the
Huguenots
upon the Cape.

Numbers of
the
Huguenots.

Huguenot
influence on
the Cape out
of all
proportion to
their number.

Union of the
races.

Its beneficial effects.

upon the history of the colony has been mainly due. The union of the two races was in every respect a beneficial one. The Normans in England supplied a wholesome leaven of intellectual quickness and spirit to the somewhat slow and sluggish Saxon character, and results very similar followed the union of the French and the Dutch in South Africa.

Minor reforms of
Van der Stel.

Besides these emigration schemes and extensions of the settlement, Van der Stel was busily occupied with a number of smaller improvements, which, taken singly perhaps, were not of much importance, but together had an important influence on the condition of the colony. The governor was at heart a country gentleman, and farming interests at all times closely occupied his mind. With the help of Oldenland, the celebrated botanist, he enlarged the Company's garden and laid out the ground on a new system. The first scientific study of South African plants was begun. Oldenland collected and preserved numerous specimens, and began also a descriptive account of the botany of the Cape, which unfortunately he did not live long enough to complete. Experiments were made with new plants, especially the olive. The governor himself was a great tree-planter. He saw that the trees native to the country were becoming rapidly used up, and that in a short time there would neither be timber nor fuel for the garrison. He tried experiments with various kinds of European and Indian timber trees. Of these the oak was found to thrive much the best. Van der Stel planted oaks everywhere, and issued an order that every farmer must plant 100 at least. He took measures to improve the viticulture and

Farming interests.

Oldenland and Cape botany.

Tree planting.

wine making, made experiments with new vine cuttings from France, Germany, Spain, and even Persia, and prohibited the farmers by proclamation from pressing their grapes too early and so producing immature wine. Other measures were equally beneficial. The Governor took a great interest in horse breeding and cattle rearing and issued numerous proclamations with a view to their improvement. Another useful reform was the enforcement of a record of titles to land, which greatly improved the conditions of land tenure, and prevented disputes and law suits. In addition we find him active in educational work, building schools and churches, and offering prizes to the children, improving the administration of justice by the establishment of an inferior court of justice at Cape Town for petty offences, looking after the interests of the natives as well as of the colonists, building a new hospital for the sick, and in every way acting as a model governor and father to his people, by whom he was universally beloved. In 1685 the Company allowed him to take up land for farming, by way of compensation for his small salary. He chose an estate at Wynberg of about 891 morgen, which he named Constantia. He turned the wilderness into a model farm, and in a few years by tree-planting and skillful cultivation made it one of the most beautiful spots of the world. There he retired in 1699, and spent his last years as a country gentleman dispensing a generous hospitality to his visitors till his death in 1712.

Besides these multifarious activities Van der Stel was an enthusiastic explorer. He sent expedition after

Improvement
of viticulture
and
winemaking.

Horse-rearing
and cattle
breeding.

Improvement
in the
condition of
land tenure.

Educational
work.

Improvements
in administra-
tion of justice.

Simon's
estate at
Wynberg.

Work of
exploration.

The
Governor's
journey to
Namaqualand

expedition to explore the interior, of which practically nothing was known at this time. He himself in 1685 set out on a journey to Namaqualand. Month after month the party toiled slowly over mountain ranges and river valleys, living on the flesh of the eland and the hippopotamus, till at last they reached the copper mountains, and though they did not actually reach it, acquired some knowledge of the Orange River, which was now for the first time placed on the map of Africa. This was by far the most important and most fruitful expedition into the interior that had yet taken place. It was the first step in the long task of the exploration of central Africa. The geography of the northwestern portions of the colony as far as the Orange River was now well known.

Important
administrative
changes made
by the
Company in
the time of
Van der Stel.

Abuses in the
administration
of the Dutch
East India
Company.

The
Commission
of 1684.

In addition to Van der Stel's own reforms, important changes in the system of administration were made by the Company itself at this time. Even at this early period the great Dutch East India Company was beginning its long period of decline. Various abuses, such as we have previously mentioned, had begun to make themselves apparent in the administration of their possessions at the Cape and in the East. To deal with these, the Directors in 1684 appointed a commission of three, to examine and report upon the administration of their possessions in South Africa and in the East. The President of the Commission was a very great man, whom we have already mentioned — Hendrick Adriaan Van Rheebe tot Drakenstein — better known by his title of Lord of Mydrecht, to whom the most extensive powers were given. He

could appoint or displace Governors and Admirals, proclaim new laws, create new offices, make treaties with native rulers, and generally could exercise supreme jurisdiction for the time being over the affairs of the Company.

This great official landed at the Cape in the spring of 1685 and remained until July. During this period he issued a great number of important regulations dealing mainly with the system of administration and with native policy. The first change made was in the constitution of the executive council. Its numbers were increased to eight members, and it was never enlarged again during the remaining period of the government of the East India Company. Similarly the High Court of Justice was reconstituted, to consist of certain specified members together with the two oldest burgher councillors. A new local officer called the Landdrost was appointed for Stellenbosch, and a Court for petty civil cases involving amounts of less than ten pounds was instituted under the presidency of the Landdrost. This court was to meet once a month and was also to act as a kind of district council to deal with local matters such as the repair of roads. It was empowered to raise a revenue from the inhabitants for this purpose, and to compel them to supply waggons, cattle, and slaves, if necessary, for public purposes. The Landdrost was also to have a supervision of the Company's farm and to look after the Company's interests generally. This marked the beginning of the Courts of the Landdrost and Heemraden, which were extended to other districts gradually as the colony expanded, and remained

The Lord of
Mydrecht and
his visit to
the Cape.

New
regulations.

Increase in
the numbers
of the Council
of Policy.

Local
government
system
established.

The
Landdrost
and the
Heemraden.

Slave regulations.

the method of local government till they were superseded by the present system. Regulations were also issued by the High Commissioner regarding the emancipation of slaves. Slave children under twelve years of age were to be sent to school, and taught reading and writing, and instructed in the principles of Christianity. Marriage was permitted between Europeans and halfbreeds, but not between Europeans and freed slaves of full colour. Slaves belonging to private persons were not to be tied up and flogged without an order from the Fiscal and the consent of the Governor.

Native policy.

General regulations were also drawn up concerning the treatment of the Hottentots. These are interesting as marking the beginning of a definite native policy. Van Riebeeck had been carefully instructed not to oppress the natives but to keep on friendly terms with them. This policy, in spite of some difficulties, had worked well, and there was at this time a very friendly feeling between them and the Europeans. The problem was, would this be likely to continue? As the number of colonists increased, more and more land would have to be taken from the natives. As we have seen, there had been remonstrances from the natives on this point, and the difficulty was bound to increase as time went on. The native problem had not yet reached an acute stage. There was still land enough and to spare for all; but the High Commisioner looked to the future, and found himself confronted with the difficulty of how to extend the Colony without expelling the natives — the same problem which

has so much exercised the minds of South African statesmen down to our own times. There seemed to him only one solution, to induce the natives to give up their nomadic habits and establish themselves in native reserves clearly marked out from the lands of the Europeans. This policy was kept in mind, and thirty years later, when the need for it arose, it was gradually put into operation.

Another of the High Commissioner's reforms deserves comment. One of the chief abuses then prevalent in the East Indies possessions was the private trade carried on by the Company's officers. This was one of the points into which the Commission was specially instructed to enquire. The Cape was unpopular with the officials of the company, because no fortunes could be made there in this way. To remedy this, the High Commissioner allowed each of the officers of the Company to take up land for farming, and to sell his produce to the Company on the same terms as the free colonists. This was an unwise policy. Its tendency was to distract the attention of the officials from the affairs of the Company and induce them to spend their time in promoting their own private interests. It led also to the creation of jealousy and suspicion between the colonists and the Company's officials, and this, as we shall see, led to a crisis in the time of the next governor, Adriaan van der Stel. It was under this agreement that Simon van der Stel himself acquired his beautiful estate at Constantia. The other regulations of the High Commissioner were of minor importance. He revised the revenue and added a transfer duty of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the purchase money.

System of native reserves.

Officers of the Company allowed to take up land.

Bad effects of this policy.

Revision of the revenue.

on landed property. He fixed a price to be given for wheat by the Company. These regulations, unlike those of the ordinary Governors and Commissioners, could only be repealed by the Assembly of Seventeen, and several of them remained in force during the rest of the period of the Company's rule in South Africa.

The
Independent
Fiscal.

Private trading had grown to such an extent among the officials, that the Dutch Company a little later had recourse to the plan of a double authority, by appointing in every dependency an official, who should be independent of the governor and able in this way to act as a check upon him. This new officer was called the Independent Fiscal. He was responsible to the Directors alone, and was entrusted with the regulation of justice and the control of the accounts and expenditure. The policy was a thoroughly bad one. Responsibility was divided between the Governor and the Fiscal, and the two were often at variance. The interests of the colony suffered in consequence. Not only so, but the Fiscal, like the other officials of the Company, was generally underpaid, and was himself often not above temptation. Thus the first Independent Fiscal of the Cape, who was appointed in 1689, had a salary of only 100 pounds a year, but was allowed to retain for himself one third of the fines inflicted under his jurisdiction in petty criminal cases. This amounted almost to a direct encouragement of corruption, and it is not surprising to find that the system worked very badly. The root of the evil was the parsimony of the Company. They paid their officials inadequate salaries and consequently distrusted them. Instead of

Mischiefous
effects of
this policy.

Parsimony of
the Company.

thus setting a thief to catch a thief, it would have been better and more economical to have placed their servants above corruption by more liberal treatment.

The Company's rule in South Africa reached its climax of prosperity in the time of Simon van der Stel. As the 18th century opened, everything seemed favourable for progress in the colony. The number of the colonists was slowly but steadily increasing. Agriculture was steadily progressing, labour was fairly abundant, the natives were friendly and peaceful and were even beginning to be useful as servants. No danger was to be apprehended from foreign invasion. Yet this fair promise was unfulfilled. The troubles began in the time of Simon's son and successor Adriaan van der Stel. The mischievous provisions which we have just recorded began to work their evil effect. The old harmony existing between the Governor and the colonists was turned into wrangling and discord. The colonists became jealous and suspicious. To keep order the Governor was forced against his will into measures of repression. The colonists appealed to the Directors, and the Directors, without adequate investigation, distrusted and censured the Governor. The administration of the Company became more and more corrupt. The officials in the East Indies became dishonest and avaricious. The Dutch power weakened in the East. It became exposed to the attacks of stronger nations like the English and the French. Its monopoly was broken; its finances fell into confusion. The weaker it grew the more tyrannical became its rule. In the Cape the colonists became discontented and rebel-

Causes of decline in the 18th century.

Prosperity at the Cape in the time of Simon Van der Stel.

Beginnings of troubles under Simon's successor.

Their causes.

Decline of Dutch power.

Adriaan van
der Stel.

Memorandum
drawn up
by Simon
van der Stel.

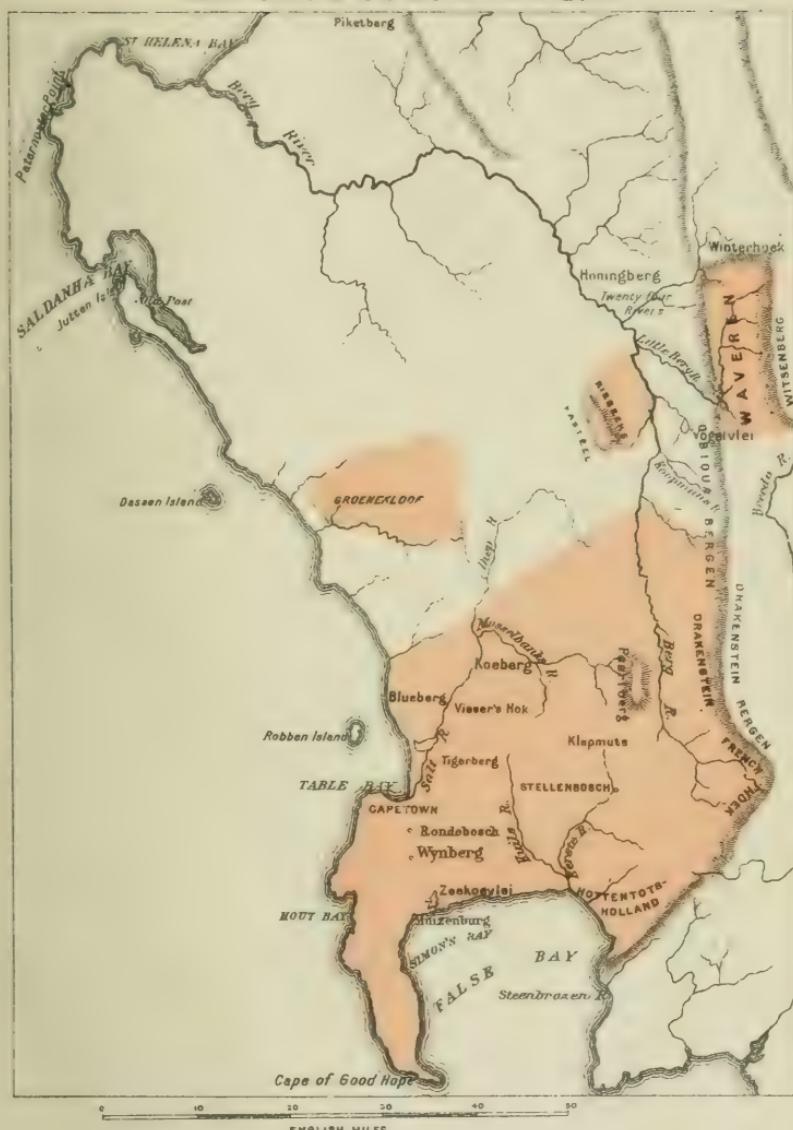
The
governorship
of Adriaan
van der Stel.

lious. They trekked into the regions of the interior to escape the hateful rule of their masters. These were the main causes for the slow development of the Cape during the 18th century.

Adriaan van der Stel succeeded his father as Governor in 1699, and ruled the Cape till his recall by the Directors in 1707. When he arrived at the Cape, his father drew up for his guidance a valuable memorandum, in which he embodied all the results of his nineteen years experience in colonial government. It is a summing up of the wise policy he had himself pursued with so much benefit to the colony. It deals with subjects such as the best means for developing agriculture, tree-planting, road-making, settling new colonists, problems of administration, treatment of the natives, etc. He warned his son of the dangers arising from the illicit cattle trade, and from the disorderly element that had begun to assert itself in the population; he counsels him to use firmness and prudence in dealing with these problems.

Unfortunately we possess few materials from which to judge of the character of Adriaan. His rule was not successful. He was recalled from the Cape by the Directors for alleged misgovernment. His name has been blackened by historians and has become a by-word for tyranny and oppression. His period of government is still the subject of the greatest controversy. Was his rule corrupt and oppressive, as is often asserted, or was he merely the victim of a conspiracy got up by lying and spiteful enemies? These are questions which still await a complete and

THE CAPE COLONY IN 1700





final answer. The real fault lay with the Company itself. The Company had started a policy which was certain to sow the seeds of distrust between the governors and the governed. Even Simon van der Stel had come under unworthy suspicion on this account during the closing years of his life. He has been blamed for using his great position to acquire unjust profit to himself at the expense of the colonists. The question is one of great importance. It lies at the root of most of the problems of Cape history during the eighteenth century. It opens up the whole native question as well as the relations between the Governor and the colonists, and between the Governor and the Directors. It also explains the beginning of the trekking, and marks the beginning of that decline which was the result of serious mistakes in the policy of the East India Company.

The trouble began with the new regulations for the cattle trade issued by the Directors of the Company in 1699. Since 1658 the colonists had been prohibited from trading in cattle with the Hottentots. The motives were, partly to protect the interests of the Company, and partly to guard the natives against oppression, and so avoid possible war and trouble. Illegal cattle trading was nevertheless carried on. The better class of colonists obeyed the regulations, but the trade was a profitable one, and some of the more lawless among the population banded themselves together and pursued methods for getting cattle which could scarcely be distinguished from robbery. The difficulty had arisen in the time of Simon van der Stel: he had tried

Evil effects of
Company's
policy.

New
regulations for
cattle trade
issued by the
Company
1699.

Illicit cattle
trading.

Punishments inflicted by Simon van der Stel.

Cattle trade thrown open to the colonists.

Mischiefous effects of this.

Difficulty of the Governor's position.

Increase of cattle breeding and decline of agriculture.

to check the evil by the most severe punishments such as whipping, branding, banishment, and the confiscation of property. These measures of his were not approved of by the Company. The Directors had become more careless than before of the interests of the natives, so in June 1699 they threw the cattle trade open to the colonists.

This caused the first serious conflict on an important point of policy between the Directors and the Governor, and was the beginning of much friction in the future. There can be no doubt that the Company's new policy was a serious mistake. It was bound to make the Governor's task difficult and unpopular. He had to protect the natives against injustice, and he could scarcely do this without coming into conflict with the less scrupulous among the colonists. The evil was already, as we have seen, a serious one. It would now be exaggerated tenfold. It would bring the natives into hostility with the colonists, with whom they had hitherto been on friendly terms. It opened up the way for unlimited injustice and corruption. It was a measure subversive of discipline and calculated to set the colonists against the Governor. Simon van der Stel saw all this and remonstrated with the Directors in vain. It was left for his son to reap the full fruits of this mischievous policy.

The effects soon became apparent. From this date, Theal tells us, cattle breeding became the favourite pursuit with yearly increasing numbers of colonists. Agriculture was more troublesome, less profitable and more expensive. One good result the change of policy

undoubtedly had — it furnished a motive for the colonists to push further and further into the interior of the continent. The supply of cattle in the immediate neighbourhood rapidly became exhausted. It was the main cause of the first trekking which did so much to extend the settlement and open up the interior. But its evils perhaps more than counterbalanced its benefits. Agriculture, the subject dearest to Simon van der Stel's heart, came to be neglected. The farmers disliked the Governor's reforms. They hated the trouble of tree-planting and corn-growing. Many of them preferred to make larger profits by stealing cattle from the natives. One of these expeditions, Theal tells us, consisting of five white men and some Hottentots, left Stellenbosch and were away for seven months. They embarked upon a career of robbery, attacked the Hottentot tribes in the interior, killed a great many of them and drove off their cattle.

To maintain order the Governor was compelled to adopt severe measures. If such things went on, it would soon become impossible for the Company to get any cattle at all from the natives, and at any moment they might find a serious native war on their hands. The Governor's attempts to regulate this trade brought upon him the hatred of all those who made large profits out of it. By way of reprisal they prepared a memorial of 38 paragraphs, accusing him and other members of the council of extortion and corruption. The main charges brought forward were these, (1) that he employed the Company's servants and slaves at his farm, (2) that he had used the Company's materials for buildings, (3) that

Trekking begins.

Cattle thieving expeditions.

The Governor's attempts to regulate the trade

He becomes unpopular in consequence.

The memorial addressed to the Directors against the Governor.

his agents had taken cattle by violence from the Hottentots, (4) that he derived large profits from a monopoly of wine. The document was signed by 63 persons. This was sent to Batavia in 1705.

The question is — Were these charges true? Or were they the outcome of malice and the desire to get rid of a too efficient Governor? It must be admitted that the methods adopted by the memorialists cannot stand a moment's examination. In the first place, they took care not to present their grievances first of all to the Governor himself — the natural order of procedure. They sent them secretly to the Directors at Batavia, and the Governor had no knowledge of the existence of the document till the arrival of the homeward fleet in the following year. If the Governor had refused them redress, there would then have been some excuse for addressing the Directors secretly in this way. Not only so, but of the two ringleaders in the movement against the Governor one was Henning Huisung, who had made a fortune out of the meat contract which had been granted to him, and who therefore stood to lose most by the stopping of the illegal traffic. The other was Jacobus van der Heiden, who was afterwards, in company with the third, Adam Tas, found to be behind the cattle robberies. These three seem to have drawn up the document and then they went round the country obtaining signatures. Their methods were clearly exposed in the sworn evidence before the Landdrost of Stellenbosch. In the examination of Adam Tas the latter admitted that he himself wrote the petition and in his own words "that it was done in a fit of mad pas-

Criticism of
the memorial
and the
memorialists.

Their uncon-
stitutional
procedure.

Bad character
of the
ringleaders.

Their
method of
obtaining
signatures.

sion for which I am sorry from the bottom of my heart". All the charges brought forward he admitted were put down from hearsay. The other signatories who were examined were equally unsatisfactory. One admitted that he signed the petition without knowing the contents, a second acknowledged that there was no truth in the memorial, a third had signed out of spite, a fourth because he was in debt to Huysing and so on.

After these admissions it is hardly worth while examining the document. It is difficult under these circumstances to interpret the matter as other than a spiteful conspiracy to get rid of an unpopular Governor. At the same time it was the system that was principally at fault. Adriaan van der Stel had a large estate at Vergelegen, confirmed to him it is true under the seal of the Company, as Constantia had been given to his father. He had certain rights and duties as Governor which were inconsistent with the possession of private property of this kind. He probably did use the Company's servants on his own farm, though he dealt with this point adequately later on in his defence. It was undoubtedly to his interests and in his power to use his position as Governor in a way profitable to himself and prejudicial to the interests of the colonists. To what extent he did so can never be adequately determined.

As against the charges brought forward it is necessary to emphasize certain important points in Adriaan van der Stel's favour. 240 out of the 550 freemen then resident at the Cape signed a declaration in his favour as a just and efficient Governor. "During the

Recantation
of the
principal
signatories.

The real fault
lay in the
system.

Points in
Adriaan's
favour.

The testimonial drawn up in his favour.

The harsh treatment of the memorialists explained.

No personal liberty or free government in the Cape in those times.

Attitude of the Directors.

time of his presence and government here," they say, "he has conducted himself always as a peace-loving, just and faithful chief toward the lords his masters and in the interest of the people".

If Adriaan had been a thoroughly unjust and tyrannical ruler, it is hard to see how a half of the whole free population of the country could have borne such a testimony in his favour. The most serious charge against him is his harsh treatment of the memorialists. When he heard of what had been done against him, he threw Adam Tas and some of the leading accomplices into prison and kept them there for some time without trial. This would appear to us nowadays as a tyrannical attack upon the personal liberty of the subject. But it must be remembered that there was no Habeas Corpus Act in the Cape in those times. Personal liberty was not held to be so sacred a thing then as it is now. There was no political liberty or free government at the Cape during the regime of the Company. The government was frankly despotic, and the measures taken by Adriaan to deal with the matter, considering the disturbed and rebellious state of the country at the time, were the measures which any Governor of the time would have been likely to adopt.

However that may be, the suspicion of the Directors was aroused. They were accustomed to hear of dishonest servants in various parts of their dominions, and they were too far distant to be able to judge of the rights and wrongs of the whole matter. Adriaan van der Stel was condemned by them without a hearing. He had no opportunity of refuting the charges

brought against him till after he had been recalled to Holland. Doubtless the Directors from their own point of view were right in their decision. They could not afford to have a servant whom they distrusted in a high position at a place so remote as the Cape, so they removed Adriaan from office along with several members of his council. His estate at Vergelegen was taken over by the Company, divided into four farms and sold by public auction. This in itself was a great loss to the Colony, for Adriaan had made Vergelegen a kind of model farm. He had imported from foreign countries new kinds of vines, plants and trees for the purpose of experiments. The results of those experiments, which would have been most valuable, were therefore lost to the Colony. Not only so, but the dishonest Huysing was given the whole of the meat contract. The Hottentots continued to be exploited by the unscrupulous cattle dealers, with the result that they soon came to lose both their land and their cattle and those that remained became the slaves of the colonists. One good effect the action of the Directors had; it put a stop to the vicious system, begun in the time of Simon van der Stel, by which the servants of the company were allowed to farm land and trade on their own account. The Directors now had their eyes opened to the evils of such a system, and instructions were issued that in the future no servant of the company, of whatever rank, was to own or lease land in the Colony, or to trade directly or indirectly in any wine or cattle. This put a stop to the system which had been responsible for all the trouble in the time of the unfortunate Adriaan van der Stel.

Adriaan
recalled to
Holland
without a
trial.

Vergelegen
sold by the
Company.

Bad results of
the company's
action.

One good
result.

No servants
of the
Company in
the future to
be allowed to
hold land.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE EXPANSION OF THE SETTLEMENT.

How the war
of American
Independence
affected the
Cape.

Losses of
Holland.

The colonists
encouraged
by the success
of the
Americans.

The
deputation
of 1779.

First attempt
of the
British to
take the Cape.

The
revolutionary
war results
in the capture
of the Cape.

The history of the Cape was greatly affected by the two great wars with France at the close of the eighteenth century. The war of American Independence caused the war between England and Holland in 1780, which led to the seizure of the Dutch colonies by England, and brought about the final bankruptcy of the Dutch East India Company. Until that period the two powers had been on terms of mutual alliance since the time of William of Orange. The successful struggle of the American colonists for independence had also a marked effect upon the minds of the Dutch settlers at the Cape. It deepened their discontent with the rule of the Company, and inspired them with the idea that they too might become independent. It was in 1779, while the American war was in progress, that delegates from the Cape proceeded to Amsterdam to state their complaints against the company. The war also led to the first attempt of the British to take the Cape, and when Holland was conquered by France in the Revolutionary war England took the Cape to prevent it from falling into

the hands of France. In order to see how these events operated it will be necessary to study for a little the history of the later years of the Dutch East India Company's rule at the Cape.

During the whole of the eighteenth century, from the time of the troubles under Adriaan van der Stel, there was much discontent among the settlers at the Cape with the Company's government, and the Colony made but slow progress. This was chiefly attributable to the defects of the Company's rule. Three conditions were essential to prosperity and progress—freedom of trade, freedom of government, and an honest and efficient administration. All these three essentials were unfortunately lacking. Instead of being allowed free exchange of their products with foreigners and among themselves, the colonists were hampered by arbitrary and grievous restrictions imposed upon them by the Company. Monopolies, licences, tithes, and other burdens, impoverished them and took away all incentive to commercial and industrial effort. Instead of being allowed to govern themselves like the English Colonists in America, the Dutch settlers lived under a despotic system of rule. Even the laws under which they lived were not published or defined; everyone was at the mercy of the arbitrary placaats of the Governor and the Council. Most important of all, the administration was generally inefficient and corrupt. There were good Governors, of course, like Rijk Tulbagh, who ruled wisely and dispensed even-handed justice, but there was also much incompetence and dishonesty among the officials of the Company, which were the

Causes of
discontent
at the Cape.

Three
conditions of
progress
lacking.

1. No freedom
of trade.

Arbitrary
restrictions
and exactions.

2. No freedom
of
government.

3. Adminis-
tration
inefficient
and corrupt.

Effects of the Company's government upon the Colony.

The trekking and its causes.

Results of the trekking.

Lack of concentration

Division created between the country districts and the town.

(1) The townspeople.

(2) The farmers.

subject of frequent complaints on the part of the colonists.

It is little wonder, therefore, if the Dutch colonists showed small initiative and little desire to advance the interests of the Colony. Their main aim was to get as far away from the control of the Government as possible. This accounts for the trekking which is so prominent a feature in the history of the Cape. To obtain freedom whole families moved off into the wilderness and settled in the remote districts, grazing their flocks and herds, and living a life of primitive simplicity. This had two important effects. First, it scattered what was at the best a meagre population over a large extent of territory, and this was a cause of weakness and stagnation. Concentration was necessary for strength and progress. "However extensive the colony is", wrote Sparrman, the Swedish naturalist who visited the Cape in 1772, "yet it cannot be considered at present in any other light than that of a proportionately large but weakly and consumptive body, in which the circulation of trade is very slow and sluggish". The second effect was to create and stereotype a division between the settlers in the country and the settlers in the town. The townspeople were gathered round the fort, living upon the trade with the ships that put in at Table Bay. The farmers lived in scattered homesteads far in the interior, where roads were few, so that there was little in common between them and the dwellers in the town. This divergence of interests between town and country has ever since been a marked feature of South African life.

At the same time, in spite of the defects of the Company's rule, the Colony made steady, if somewhat slow, progress up to 1771. The principal point to notice is the gradual expansion of the settlement. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the line of the Drakenstein formed the natural boundary. The white population was confined to the Cape Peninsula, and the Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, and Paarl districts. About 1700 the colonists began to cross the Drakenstein mountains. The first new district settled was the land of Waveren, now Tulbagh. From Waveren the settlers passed eastwards along the valley of the Zonderend River, and south eastwards along the valley of the Breede River. The new district of Swellendam was formed in this way in 1745, and a court of landdrost and Heemraad established. The village itself was founded in 1746. By 1770 the Zwartebogen range had come to be regarded as the northern boundary of this district. The second line of expansion was north into the Zwartland, now Malmesbury, where the soil was found to be very well adapted for wheat growing. The village of Malmesbury was founded in 1745. From Malmesbury the settlers spread further north into the Piquetberg district, and beyond that again towards the Orange River which was first crossed in 1760. In 1779 Captain Gordon, a Scotchman in the Company's service, explored the river to its mouth and named it the Orange River after the Stadholder of the United Provinces. From Stellenbosch and Swellendam trekkers penetrated into what is now the district of Graaff Reinet as far east

Progress of
the Colony
up to 1771.

Gradual
expansion of
the Colony.

Settlers begin
to cross the
range of the
Drakenstein
1700.

Tulbagh
settled.

Swellendam
district
founded 1745.

Malmesbury
district
formed 1745.
Piquetberg.

Orange River
first crossed
1760.

Exploration
and naming
of the Orange
River by
Capt. Gordon,
1779.

Graaff Reinet
district
created 1785.

Administrative divisions
of the Colony
in 1780.

1. The Cape.
2. Stellenbosch.
3. Swellendam.
4. Graaff Reinet.

Plettenberg's
beacon.

The adminis-
tration of
Rijk Tulbagh.

His wisdom
and justice.

His early
career at
the Cape.

as the Great Fish River. It was in order to exercise some control over the cattle farmers on the frontier that the directors created the district of Graaff Reinet in 1785.

Throughout the eighteenth century there grew up four administrative divisions within the colony. (1) The Cape district extending north as far as St. Helena Bay and inland as far as Malmesbury. (2) Stellenbosch, the northern boundary of which district extended from the Buffalo River, almost in a straight line to the range of the Nieuwe-veldbergen. (3) Swellendam—between the Zwartbergen mountains and the sea and eastwards to the Gamtoos River. (4) Graaff Reinet, extending from the Zwartbergen to the Nieuwe-veldbergen and northwards to Plettenberg's beacon, erected by the Governor van Plettenberg in 1778 to mark the northern boundary, and from thence southwards to the Great Fish River.

The last of the good governors at the Cape was Rijk Tulbagh who was Governor from 1751 to 1771. "The memory of Governor Rijk Tulbagh" says Theal, "is still preserved by tradition in South Africa as that of a wise, just, and benevolent ruler". He came out to the Colony in 1716 at the age of 17 as a clerk in the Company's service, and worked his way up to the position of Governor in 1751 without influence, through sheer ability and trustworthiness of character. He rose to the position of chief clerk to the Secretary of the Council of Policy in 1722. In 1725 he was appointed Fiscal and became a member

of the Council in 1728, with a seat in the high court of justice. He retained his post as secretary till 1729 and then became Secunde by order of the Assembly of Seventeen. In 1751 he became governor at the age of 52.

Rijk Tulbagh had thus a long experience of the country, which stood him in good stead in his position, as governor. He lived simply, kept no state, and was accessible to everyone. He listened patiently to the Colonists' grievances and was prompt to give redress in case of any injustice. For this reason he was beloved by the people, by whom he was known affectionately as Father Tulbagh. His honesty was unquestioned by anyone—an unusual thing in the case of a governor of that period. He did no trading on his own account, nor did he allow any other official of the Company to do so. He set his face firmly against all forms of corruption and kept a strict control over his subordinates. He put an end to the wasteful pilfering system by which officials were in the habit of receiving bribes from the farmers for trading privileges. He watched closely over the interest of the colonists and opposed any attempts to oppress them. In 1759 the Council of India proposed to reduce the prices paid by the Company for produce, and to charge a tax upon meat, meal, and the sale of wine to foreign ships. Tulbagh issued a strong protest, pointing out that the reduction would ruin the farmers and injure the Company by driving foreigners from the port. So great was the faith reposed in him by the directors, that the obnoxious

His
experience of
the country.

His
accessibility
to the
colonists.

His
popularity.

His strict
honesty.

He puts down
corruption
among the
officials.

He opposes
the Company
in 1759 in the
interests of
the colonists.

He becomes
Councillor
Extraordinary
of Nether-
lands India
1755.
Ordinary
Councillor
1767.

Administration
of Van
Plettenberg
1771—85.

Fails to
control his
subordinates.

Private
trading
among the
officials.
Discontent
among the
colonists.

Unpopularity
of the fiscal.

proposals were withdrawn. In 1755 Tulbagh was raised by the directors to the dignity of Councillor Extraordinary of Netherlands India in 1755, and was further elevated to the honour of Ordinary Councillor in 1767. This made him rank third highest in the Company's service outside Europe—immediately after the Governor-General and the Director-General of the Company. He died in 1771, and his burial in the great church was made an occasion for mourning among every class in the Colony.

Very different in character was Van Plettenberg, who succeeded him as Governor from 1771 to 1785. Under his rule the Colony rapidly declined. The old harmony existing between the Governor and the colonists was broken up. The new Governor allowed his subordinates to do as they pleased, with the result that soon no transaction with the Government could be done without bribery. The Company's officials farmed and traded openly on their own account, to the great injury of the farmers. This led to a growing feeling of discontent among the colonists. The fiscal was especially detested. This office had been created in 1688 throughout all the Company's dominions with the idea of looking after the Company's interests and reporting any cases of misgovernment. He had, besides, important judicial and financial functions. He received an insufficient salary like the rest of the Company's servants, and by his control of the trade with the foreigners, had unlimited opportunities for peculation. He was independent of the Governor and responsible only to the Chamber

of Seventeen at Amsterdam. Though it was his special province to guard against dishonesty among the officials he became himself the most corrupt among them all, and the complaints against him in the time of Van Plettenberg bulk very largely among the grievances of the colonists.

It was just at this time that the American War was in progress, and questions of rights and liberties began to be discussed among the colonists as they had never been before. The settlers became ambitious to imitate the Americans and to get rid of a rule which had become distasteful to them. In 1779, four delegates, representing four hundred burghers of Cape Colony, went to Amsterdam to state their complaints. They asked to be free from the arbitrary exactions laid upon them by the Company, that the laws under which they lived, and the taxes they had to pay, should be clearly defined and made known. They petitioned that the orders issued in 1706 prohibiting officials from trading and farming on their own account should be strictly enforced. They asked also for the right of self-government, that the colonists should be represented by seven members in the executive Council and that the number of burgher members in the High court of Justice should be increased. They wanted free trade with India and a share in the trade with the Netherlands to the extent of one or two ships' cargoes yearly, also the right to deal in slaves with Madagascar and the East coast of Africa. Another petition was for the right of appeal to the supreme court of justice in the Netherlands instead of to Batavia.

His
dishonesty
and mis-
government.

Agitation at
the Cape.

Delegates sent
to Amsterdam
in 1779.

Complaints of
the colonists.

Attitude of
the governor.

Nothing much however was done in reply to these petitions. Five years elapsed before the directors gave any reply. The governor at the Cape, when asked to state his opinion, denied many of the statements made by the colonists and opposed their request for a share in the government on the ground that it would be disadvantageous to the Company. A committee of investigation was appointed in Holland to consider the matter. In 1783 it sent in a report which was generally unsympathetic to the colonists. The committee considered that the charges brought forward against the officials had not been proved. The complainants could not, they said, be taken to represent the whole body of colonists at the Cape; they refused to grant the settlers free trade with Europe or with India. They dismissed the petition for right of appeal to the supreme court of the Netherlands on the plea that it would tend to remove the Cape from the jurisdiction of the Company.

The petitions
of the
colonists
refused.

In addition to the prevailing discontent the Cape was at the same time being threatened by enemies both from within and from without. Towards the end of this century the extension of the Boers eastward had brought them into contact for the first time with the Bantus, who were by far the strongest and most warlike of the South African natives. Until this time the Dutch had had to deal only with the Bushmen and the Hottentots, who, though troublesome, were not very formidable. But while the Dutch were trekking eastwards the Bantus were advancing

Beginning of
troubles from
the Kaffirs.

The Bantu
migration.

from the north along the south eastern coast, and before the eighteenth century had opened they had got as far as the Kei river, where for the first time they came into contact with the Dutch colonists. Van Plettenberg was then governor, and in 1778 he made an agreement with some of the Kaffir chiefs that the Great Fish river should be the boundary between the two races, and in 1780 that river was formally declared to be the eastern boundary of the colony. It was found to be impossible to keep to this arrangement. The Xosas, the foremost of the Kaffir tribes, soon began to cross the river and to attack the Dutch farmers and to steal their cattle. This led to the first Kaffir war in 1781. A strong Dutch commando was organised among the farmers themselves, without aid from the government, under Adriaan van Jaarsveld, which drove the Xosas across the Fish river into their own territory.

Besides the danger from the Kaffirs within the colony itself, the Dutch East India Company now began to be threatened by attack from without. For more than a hundred years the Dutch in South Africa had been immune from foreign invasion. The English and French had been too much occupied in fighting out their quarrel in Canada and in India. But in 1780 Holland made a serious mistake in joining France and Spain in the war which was then being waged by America against England. The Dutch traders furnished supplies to the French and the Americans, and in 1778 the English government discovered that the city of Amsterdam had actually entered into a treaty with

First contact
of the
Dutch with
the Bantus.

Fish river
declared the
boundary.

Encroach-
ments of the
Xosas.

First Kaffir
war 1781.

Threats of
foreign
attack.

Holland at
war with
England in
the war of
American
Independence.

Political
parties in
Holland.

the United States, acting under the authority of the States General of the Netherlands.

There were at that time two parties in Holland. The party of the Stadholder favoured the English alliance, while the Republican party, of which Amsterdam was the centre, was hostile to England and in favour of France. The Republican party got the upper hand. The result was that Great Britain went to war with the Netherlands in the end of the year 1780, and in the spring of the following year a British fleet was sent to take possession of the Cape. The fleet consisted of forty six ships under Commodore Johnson, and carried three thousand troops. The French however got news of the expedition. Admiral Suffren was sent in haste from Brest with a fleet to intercept the English squadron. He overtook it and fought an engagement at Porto Prayo in the Cape Verde islands. The English ships had come to anchor there to take in fresh water and were taken by surprise. The fight was indecisive, but the English ships were not ready to go in pursuit, and Suffren managed to reach Table Bay in time to garrison Cape Town and to prevent the colony from falling into the hands of the English. Johnson arrived too late, and finding the Cape strongly defended, retired without risking an engagement.

British fleet
sent to take
possession of
the Cape in
1780.

Forestalled by
the French.

Battle of
Porto Prayo.

The French
garrison
Capetown.

Retrial of
the British
fleet.

The Cape
drawn into
the European
war.

This incident showed that the Dutch could no longer stand alone; they were bound to follow the lead either of England or France. Table Bay had become important to Great Britain on account of the East India trade, and it was impossible for Britain

to allow France to occupy the Cape, since it would give the French the command of the route to India. Meanwhile, from 1780 to 1783, a French regiment was stationed in the colony to strengthen the garrison in Capetown.

Importance
of the Cape
to Britain.

Peace was made in 1783, but it brought no relief to the embarrassments of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape. The maritime power of Holland had been fatally injured during the war with England. In the course of that war so many of the Dutch vessels had been taken or sunk by the English, that the Company was obliged for a time to suspend payment. The Company's trade and shipping had been almost annihilated. Before the close of the war in 1783, many of the Dutch possessions in the East had been captured, some of which were returned to Holland, but others were lost for ever. The directors had to employ ships under neutral flags to convey their cargoes to and from India to prevent the ruin of their dependencies. They were compelled to abandon their monopoly and to allow foreigners free trade in their possessions. One of the provisions of the peace provided for the free navigation of the eastern waters, and this had the effect of destroying that monopoly which the Dutch had so long enjoyed.

The peace of
1783.

Decline
of Holland
as a result
of the war.

Destruction
of the
Company's
trade and
shipping.

Dutch
compelled to
abandon
the monopoly
of the
Eastern trade.

In the beginning of 1785 the governor Van Plettenberg returned to Holland. The directors now realised the danger of losing the Cape altogether, and were resolved to strengthen its defences and to appoint a military man as Governor. It was estimated that

Retiral of
the governor
Van Pletten-
berg.

Measures taken by the directors to protect the Cape.

Appointment of Colonel van de Graaff.
The garrison increased.

Construction of new fortifications.

Changes in the system of government.

The second deputation of 1785.

Reform of the high court of justice.

Trade concessions.

a garrison of at least two thousand men would be required to protect the Cape in the event of another attack. Colonel van de Graaff, a distinguished military officer, who was then controller-general of the fortifications in Holland, was appointed Governor. A large body of troops, consisting largely of Swiss and German mercenaries, was stationed in the colony to strengthen the garrison and to assist in the construction of the new fortifications. By these measures the directors hoped to be able to secure the Cape from invasion in the event of another war.

At the same time certain important changes were made in the system of government. A second deputation had proceeded to Holland in 1785 to remonstrate against the refusal of the directors to pay any attention to the grievances of the colonists, and to state the usual complaints about the corruption and mal-administration of the Company's officials. The directors felt that something would have to be done by timely concessions to secure the continued loyalty of the colonists, and had become convinced that certain changes in the government had become necessary. The high court of justice was to consist of six servants of the Company and six burghers.

The directors were not yet prepared to grant the colonists freedom of trade with foreign countries, but the Company agreed to purchase and send to Europe such produce of the Cape as could not be sold in the colony, after the needs of the Cape and of India had been supplied. The prices to be paid were to be fixed yearly by a board consisting of three servants of the Com-

pany and three burghers. This board was also to give advice to the council of policy as to taxation and to act as a kind of municipal body with the control of local affairs. A new administrative district was also to be created, which was given the name of Graaff Reinet in honour of the governor and his lady. A little later, in 1789, permission was also given to the colonists to export wine to Holland, provided that it was sent in Dutch ships. These concessions however went only a very little way towards meeting the demands of the colonists. They deeply resented the prohibition of free trade with foreign countries, and they were irritated at the refusal of the government to recognise the burgher members as representatives of the colonists.

The rule of the new Governor also was far from being a success. Colonel van de Graaff was an able military officer but a poor administrator. He was extravagant, arbitrary, and careless in business matters. The finances of the colony were in a desperate condition, yet the governor insisted upon keeping up an expensive establishment out of all keeping with the existing state of affairs. During the years he was Governor, from 1785 to 1791, the total revenue of the colony was about £ 22,000 yearly, while the expenditure was something over £ 120,000, leaving an annual deficit of nearly £ 92,000. To meet this reckless expenditure, paper money had to be issued, the rapid depreciation of which added greatly to the embarrassments of the colony and to the distress of its inhabitants. The same spirit of extravagance

Board of advice created.

District of Graaff Reinet formed.

Failure of Colonel van de Graaff.

Extravagance of the governor.

Financial disorder.

Issue of paper money.

Extravagance among the people.

Capetown a "Little Paris."

Troubles with the natives.

Xosas invade the Zuurveld.

Weak policy of the government.

Disaffection among the farmers.

spread among the people, more especially among those living in Cape Town. The presence of the French garrison had had the effect of setting a very expensive standard. The townspeople vied with each other in the extravagance of their living. The prices of house property and slaves rose in a few years from fifty to a hundred per cent. Cape Town came to be known to travellers as "Little Paris". The military expenditure made money plentiful for the time, and no one seemed to reflect how temporary this prosperity was likely to be.

The incompetence of the government was most apparent in its dealings with the native troubles on the Eastern frontier, which was then in a state of great disorder. In March a large body of Xosas broke over the Fish river into the Zuurveld, drove off the farmers, and seized their cattle. The farmers organised a commando and asked the government for assistance. Instead of taking strong measures to repel the invaders, the governor and the Council issued orders to the landdrost to break up the commando and to bribe the Xosas to retire into their own territory. Goods were provided by the government for this purpose. Presents of copper, brass wire, and knives, were distributed among the native chiefs, but in the end the landdrost was compelled to consent to the occupation by the Xosas of the land between the Fish river and the Kowie during the pleasure of the government. This cowardly and disastrous policy infuriated the farmers. The government, so far from protecting them against the Kaffirs, would not even allow them to protect themselves. As a result of its anxiety to

avoid a native war at all costs the district of Graaf Reinet was reduced to a state of complete disorder and insecurity, and the Kaffirs were even encouraged to continue their raids by the prospect of bribes being offered to them to leave the settlers in peace. This deplorable weakness of the government resulted ultimately, as we shall see, in the determination of the farmers to throw off the rule of the Company altogether and to set up a government for themselves.

Insecurity in
Graaff Reinet.

In 1790 came the final crash in the affairs of the Dutch East India Company. It was in debt to the amount of upwards of seven million pound sterling. The states of Holland and Zeeland, in addition to becoming security for heavy loans, had to raise by a special tax a sum of two and a half millions to give it a last chance of recovering its position. The directors attributed the Company's losses to the damage done to the Dutch shipping and colonies by the war with England, but everyone recognised that they were quite as much due to the extravagance and corruption of the Company's officials. With bankruptcy thus staring it in the face the Company was compelled to reduce its expenditure. The garrison at the Cape was greatly reduced, and the building of new fortifications was stopped. The government was in a state of utter confusion. The administration was condemned by the colonists as hopelessly corrupt. The governor was at perpetual feud with the other members of the council. The constant protests of the colonists, the quarrels among the officials, and the incompetence of the Governor, at last compelled

Bankruptcy of
the Company.

Its causes

Reduction of
expenditure.

Weakness and
disorder of
the Cape.

Recall of
Colonel
van de Graaff
1791.

Further
concessions
to the
colonists.

Commission
to investigate
the affairs of
the Company.

Board of four
appointed.

Their powers.

the directors to take action. Colonel Van de Graaff was recalled to Holland on the pretext that he was required at home to give information about the affairs of the colony. He retained however his title as Governor, and the Secunde, Rhenius, was appointed to act during his absence. Further concessions were made to the colonists in the same year. The Company gave up exporting European goods on their own account and allowed free trade to private individuals on payment of the ordinary customs duties. Foreigners only were excluded from this privilege.

These concessions, however, came too late to be of much use to the colonists. The Company had now become hopelessly insolvent. The States General appointed a commission of four members to conduct an enquiry into the affairs of the Company. They recommended that a special board should be created to examine into abuses in the Company's possessions. The four members of this commission were allowed very extensive powers. They were given a free hand to dismiss all officials whom they found to be guilty of corrupt practices, and to appoint others who were trustworthy in their place, to make necessary reforms, and generally to do what they considered best to introduce, if possible, some kind of order into the affairs of the Company. Two members were specially commissioned to visit the Cape, with instructions to reduce the expenditure and increase the revenue, to examine into the causes of the discontent among the settlers, reform abuses, hear complaints, and make whatever changes they thought advisable.

The two commissioners, Nederburgh and Frykenius arrived at the Cape in June 1792 and took over the government. They remained for almost a year at the Cape and made an honest and energetic attempt to accomplish their mission. On their arrival the burgher councillors asked permission to present on behalf of the colonists a petition of grievances. The commissioners were at first unwilling to receive them as representatives of the people, apart from the other members of the high court of justice, but offered to hear their complaints as private individuals. Public meetings were held to protest against this decision, with the result that in the end the commissioners were compelled to give way and to receive the burgher members as the people's representatives.

In their petition they complained that it was unjust that they should be made to pay increased taxes to make good the losses of the Company, for which they were in no way responsible. They pointed out that the expenditure for purely colonial purposes was less than the revenue, and asked that the taxes should be reduced instead of being increased. This request made the task of the commissioners extremely difficult, since without increasing the taxes it would be impossible to balance the revenue and expenditure. This was the main cause of their unpopularity with the colonists. Orders were issued imposing a number of new taxes. The most important of them were an import and export duty of five per cent on the value of all goods not belonging to the Company, a duty of £ 2 upon every slave imported, an increase of the transfer dues on sales of land, a duty

Nederburgh
and Frykenius
specially
appointed to
visit the Cape.

Petition of
the burgher
councillors.

Attitude
of the
commissioners

Complaints
of the
colonists.

New taxes
imposed.

Unpopularity
of the
auction duty.

on brandy brought into Capetown, and an auction duty of two and a half per cent on the selling price of landed property, and of five per cent on that of moveable goods.

Protests of
the colonists.

It was the last of these, that provoked the greatest discontent among the colonists. Auction sales were held usually every three months in the country districts, during the week in which the farmers assembled, often from great distances, to attend the celebration of the church communion. At these gatherings large sums of money changed hands, so that the new tax was felt by every one. The imposition of the tax was met by a storm of protests. For a whole month, during May 1793, no auction sale took place within the colony, and all business was brought to a standstill. The commissioners stood firm however, and in the end, to prevent their own ruin, the colonists were compelled to submit.

Annual deficit
reduced.

By these increased taxes, combined with rigorous retrenchment and the abolition of the perquisites formerly claimed by the officials, the commissioners managed to reduce the yearly deficit from its former figure of £ 92,000 to about £ 27,000. Even then the colony was very far from being solvent. By way of compensation for the increased taxation the Company increased the price paid to the farmers for wheat, and allowed them free export of the surplus to India or the Netherlands, provided it was sent in Dutch ships. The whale fishing was also thrown open to them. Until that time it had been chiefly monopolised by English and American whalers. At the same time the importation of goods in foreign vessels was strictly forbidden. This last

Compensa-
tions fo
the
colonists.

restriction hit the colonists very hard. The trade with foreigners had always been illegal, but for more than a century the restrictions had not been rigidly enforced, and the Cape had become a kind of dépôt for Indian and European goods. Many of the townspeople derived their living from this source, and its strict prohibition was felt as a severe hardship. The freedom of the India trade, which had been conceded to them, was felt to be a poor compensation for the loss of this privilege. The reduction of the garrison and the stoppage of military expenditure produced a serious commercial depression. The price of landed property fell to about a tenth of its nominal value. More paper money had to be issued, and to relieve the distress a loan bank was established by the commissioners in 1793. The paper money was declared to be legal tender, and was issued through the bank to borrowers who could furnish the necessary security at the rate of five per cent interest. Some measure of temporary relief was provided in this way, but the rapid depreciation of the paper money, through the lack of coin to support it, in the end had the effect of enormously increasing the distress.

To add to the difficulties of the government the second Kaffir war broke out in 1793. A great horde of six thousand Xosas again swept over the Fish river and plundered the country of the Zuurveld. Of the hundred and twenty farms between the Kowie and the Zwartkops, a hundred and sixteen were laid waste; about a hundred thousand head of cattle, sheep, and horses were carried off. The government had just appointed

Prohibition of foreign trade resented.

Commercial depression.

Loan Bank established to meet the distress.
Depreciation of the paper money and its effects.

Outbreak of the second Kaffir War in 1793.

Devastation of the border districts.

Maynier appointed landdrost of Graaff Reinet.

His character.

His unpopularity with the farmers.

The Xosas driven back over the Fish river.

Irritation of the farmers with the government.

Outbreak of the Revolutionary war in Europe.

Holland becomes the Batavian Republic.

a new landdrost, called Maynier, to the district of Graaff Reinet, in which the raid had taken place. Their choice was a most unfortunate one. The new landdrost was extremely unpopular with the inhabitants. He had become imbued with the doctrines of the French philosophers, more especially with the teaching of Rousseau, as to the virtues of the natural man, and persuaded the government that the raids were the result of the wrongs done to the natives by the colonists. He was hated and distrusted in consequence by the farmers, who had seen many of their relatives tortured and murdered, and were burning to revenge their losses. The burghers of Swellendam came to the aid of their comrades in Graaff Reinet, and with their help the Xosas were driven back over the Fish River. Only a few of the stolen cattle had been recovered. A treaty was then made with the Kaffir chiefs, by which they promised to retire to their own territory. The farmers knew how little reliance was to be placed on these promises. They were indignant at the terms of peace, which left the bulk of their stolen cattle still in the possession of the Kaffirs. The commandos were broken up, but the farmers dispersed in a spirit of resentment, which soon became inflamed into open rebellion.

It was at this time that the great Revolutionary war broke out in Europe. In 1794, as we have already seen, a revolution occurred in Holland. The Stadtholder was compelled to take refuge in England. The Netherlands were overrun by a French army, and Holland became the Batavian Republic under the protection of France. The outbreak of war compelled the commissioners to

take measures for the defence of the Cape Colony. Since no regular troops could be procured to strengthen the garrison, they formed two new military companies, which were called the Pennists and the Pandours. The Pennist were composed of all the clerks and junior officers in the Company's service. The Pandours were a company of halfbreeds and Hottentots, who were put into uniform and made to undergo some training as soldiers. In addition to these there were about a thousand mercenary troops composing the garrison, consisting of a battalion of infantry of 750 men and a corps of artillery of 430 men. Lastly there were the burgher commandos of the various districts, which were liable to be called out for military service under the law of 1659. The head of the whole military force was Colonel Gordon; the infantry regiment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille. In the Cape as in Holland there were two political parties. All the officers were strongly attached to the Prince of Orange, while the rank and file as a whole favoured the republican cause and were prepared to fight with the French as allies rather than with the English. Under these circumstances it was clear that the Cape could offer no adequate resistance to an invasion from either England or France; yet such an invasion was inevitable after the occupation of Holland by the French in 1794.

It was in these critical circumstances that the two commissioners proceeded to Java, leaving the colony under the command of Abraham Sluysken, an old servant of the Company in the East, who was then at the Cape on his way home to Holland. He

Attempts
made to
strengthen
the defences
of the Cape.

The Pennists
and the
Pandours.

The
mercenary
troops.

The burgher
commandoes.

Colonel
Gordon.
Colonel
de Lille.

Political
parties at the
Cape.

Invasion
inevitable.

Departure
of the com-
missioners.

Sluysken
placed in
charge of the
government.

His character.

was given the title of Commissioner-General, with somewhat greater powers than those of an ordinary governor. He had no experience of military affairs, but was chosen mainly for his business capacity and his ability as a diplomatist. In politics he was reserved and moderate, with a leaning to the party of the Prince of Orange.

Weakness of
the Colony
increased by
the revolution
at Graaff
Reinet.

The colony was still further weakened by a revolution which broke out in the districts of Graaff Reinet and Swellendam shortly after Sluysken's appointment. In Graaff Reinet the farmers were still smarting under the losses they had sustained during the Kaffir war of 1793, and had fresh causes of complaint against their hated landdrost Maynier. In his report to the government on the causes of the war, the landdrost had laid all the blame upon the farmers, and had represented the Kaffirs as a peaceful, friendly, but cruelly wronged people. This enraged the settlers, and in 1794 they sent a deputation to Capetown to demand his removal. This request

The farmers
demand the
removal of
Maynier.

was refused by Sluysken, whereupon in February 1795 a party of forty burghers in the village of Graaff Reinet, under the leadership of Adriaan van Jaarsveld and Jan Carel Triegard, compelled the landdrost to quit the district. In imitation of the French republicans

The Nationals
establish a
republic at
Graaff Reinet.

they called themselves the Nationals, and adopted the tricolour in place of the orange cockades worn by the Company's officers. At the same time they declared that they were opposed not to the States-General of Holland but to the bad government of the East India Company, from which they now broke off all connection. In June of the same year a similar revolution took

Revolution at
Swellendam.

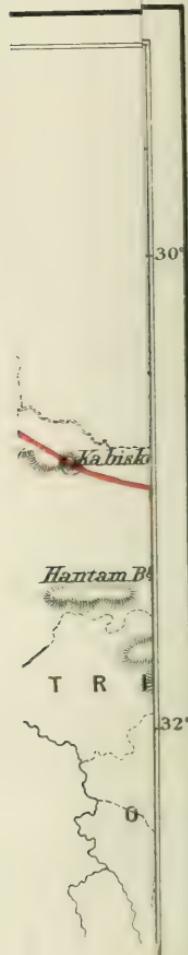
This map shows the extent of the settlement in the year 1795.



The places where there were courts of law were
Capetown, city founded in April 1652,
Stellenbosch, village founded in December
1659,
Swellendam, village founded in October 1746,
Graaff-Reinet, village founded in October
1786.

The churches were at

Dutch reformed	Capetown, established in August 1655, Stellenbosch, established in January 1687, Drakenstein, established in December 1691, Roodezand (now Tulbagh), established in October 1743, Zwartland (now Malmesbury), established in July 1745, Graaff-Reinet, established in October 1792.
Lutheran	Capetown, established in December 1780.
Moravian mission	Genadendal, established in December 1792.



place at Swellendam, where a party of armed burghers, acting in combination with the Nationals of Graaff Reinet, expelled the landdrost and the other officers of the Company, appointed one of their own number to act as head of the district, and established, in imitation of the French, a representative body which they called the National Assembly. In other parts of the colony, such as Stellenbosch, and even Capetown itself, there were many who sympathised with these republican sentiments, and were only waiting the chance to throw off all allegiance to the Company.

Swellendam
throws off the
rule of the
Company.

CHAPTER V.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION AS THE RESULT OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

English fleet
sent to take
the Cape.

It arrives in
Simon's Bay
June 1795.

Meeting of
the Council.

Preparations
for defence.

Letters
received from
Admiral
Elphinstone
and
General Craig.

As soon as possible after the occupation of Holland by France in the winter of 1794 the English government despatched a fleet to the Cape to prevent the colony from falling into the hands of the French. It was under the command of Admiral Elphinstone, and carried a body of troops under the orders of Major General Craig. The fleet made a rapid passage, and cast anchor in Simon's Bay on the 11th June 1795. News of its arrival was immediately communicated to the castle by the resident of Simonstown. The council was hastily summoned to decide what was to be done. The burghers of the country districts were ordered to proceed at once to Capetown. Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was sent to Simonstown with 300 infantry and gunners to strengthen the garrison. Next morning the Council met again to receive letters from the English admiral to the Commissioner-General. The letters had been brought to the Council from Simonstown by Major-General Craig's secretary. They contained an invitation to Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon to visit the admiral's ship, and to receive an important communication and also a letter from the Stadtholder. The Council replied

that it was not possible for Commissioner Sluysken or Colonel Gordon to leave Capetown. They were willing however to receive the information and the letter, if these were sent on to them. At the same time the Council decided to abandon Simonstown, which could not be adequately defended by the two small forts there against the superior guns of the English ships. It was decided that they should concentrate their forces at the pass of Muizenberg, the Thermopylae of the Cape, as Barrow afterwards called it. Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was ordered to take up his position there with a force of some 350 infantry and artillerymen.

On the following day three English officers proceeded to Capetown and handed to Commissioner Sluysken the letter of the Prince of Orange, written from Kew in the preceding February, commanding him to admit the English troops and ships of war. "You are," wrote the Prince, "to consider them as troops and ships of a Power in friendship and alliance with their High Mightinesses the States-General, and who come to protect the colony against the invasion of the French". The letter was accompanied by a despatch from the English admiral and the General containing an account of the occupation of Holland by the French at the end of 1794. Nothing however was said about the Revolution in Holland, which had resulted in the abolition of the Stadtholderate by the States-General and the welcome given to the French as allies by the victorious republican party.

This news placed the Commissioner in a very awkward position. He did not know what had actually been

The Council decides to abandon Simonstown, and concentrate their forces at Muizenberg.

Muizenberg occupied by de Lille.

Letter from the Prince of Orange read to the Council.

Despatch from the Admiral.

Sluysken's dilemma.

His ignorance
of events in
Europe.

He procures
a newspaper.

The notice
issued by the
States
General.

The Council
decides to
defend the
Cape.

Position of
affairs at
the Cape.

Weakness of
the defence.

happening in the Netherlands. The latest intelligence he had received had been given to him by a Dutch captain some time previously, informing him of the beginning of the French invasion of 1794. He asked to be supplied with European newspapers, so that he might have complete information as to what had happened in Holland, but this request was not complied with. A little later, however, in spite of the vigilance of the English admiral, he was able to procure a newspaper which had come into the hands of a Cape burgher from a newly-arrived ship sailing under the American flag. This newspaper printed a notice issued by the States-General at a date subsequent to the Prince's letter, absolving all persons in the Netherlands and in the Dutch colonies from the oath of allegiance to the Prince of Orange. He also ascertained that an independent republic had been established in the Netherlands by the democratic party in alliance with France, and that the Stadholderate had been abolished.

With this knowledge in their possession the Commissioner and the Council decided that it was their duty to do their utmost to keep the English from getting possession of the colony. The terms offered by General Craig were refused and the Commissioner made what preparations he could to defend Capetown. Any serious resistance however was impossible. There was no money in the treasury; two of the largest districts, Graaff Reiniet and Swellendam, were in revolt; the garrison was weak and untrustworthy, consisting chiefly of mercenaries of different nationalities; the commander of the infantry, De Lille, was suspected, rightly as it was afterwards proved, of favouring the English. Among

the Dutch themselves a great many favoured the party of the Stadtholder. The English forces outnumbered the troops at the disposal of the Dutch and were besides infinitely better trained and equipped. They were strongly supported besides by the fleet, and a powerful reinforcement of three thousand additional men under General Clarke was daily expected. With such a combination of disadvantageous circumstances it was clearly impossible to hold the Cape against the English forces. On the other hand it was possible that a French and Dutch fleet might be on the way to relieve them, and if the Dutch were overpowered by force they would have a better chance of recovering the colony at the conclusion of a peace than they would be likely to have if they made an unconditional surrender. Sluysken and the members of the council had also to remember that they would have to face an awkward enquiry in Holland upon their conduct if they did not do their utmost to defend the colony. These were the main considerations that influenced their final decision to refuse admission to the English troops.

On the 14th July General Craig disembarked 700 troops at Simonstown. This act marked the beginning of hostilities. To gain possession of Capetown the English forces had to follow the road along the sea-coast, past the defile of Muizenberg, where a month previously Colonel Gordon had posted the battalion of infantry under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille. The English General decided to occupy the Muizenberg pass by force. Four of the ships of war anchored in the Bay opposite the position and commenced the

Strength of
the English
force.

Motives
determining
the Council's
decision.

General Craig
disembarks
his troops at
Simonstown.

He determines
to occupy
Muizenberg.

Bombardment
of Muizenberg
by the fleet.

The Dutch
abandon the
position.

Strategic
importance
of the
capture of
Muizenberg.

Delay of a
month.

Craig tries to
procure a
voluntary
surrender.

Arrival of
English
reinforce-
ments from
India under
General
Clarke.

bombardment. As soon as the first guns were fired, Colonel De Lille and his troops surrendered the position and fled. The artillerymen under Lieutenant Marnitz remained a little longer, and answered the English fire but without inflicting much damage. When the English column, marching from Simonstown to storm the position, appeared along the road, Marnitz spiked his cannon and retired. Thus the pass was won. Its possession was a most important success, for it opened up the road to Capetown. Had it been strongly defended by a few resolute men, it might have stopped the progress of the English for some considerable time. The ease with which it was taken shows clearly the half-hearted nature of the defence.

General Craig, anxious to avoid further fighting, waited for a month before making any advance, in the hope of obtaining from Sluysken a voluntary surrender. He announced the expected arrival of three thousand reinforcements, and offered to take the Cape under the British protection on the same terms as before. Sluysken's position was now hopeless. The regular troops had proved useless. There were rumours of Bushmen and Hottentot risings in the interior, and a large number of the burgher militia had returned home to protect their families and their property. At the beginning of September the ships conveying the reinforcements sailed into Simon's Bay, and General Sir Alured Clarke disembarked his three thousand troops without opposition. General Craig made another attempt to persuade the Commissioner and the Council to come to a peaceful settlement, but in vain.

On the 14th of September the English force, now

five thousand strong, started its march from Muizenberg to Capetown. They encountered the enemy at Wynberg, where a decisive battle took place. As at Muizenberg, the regular troops fled immediately at the first attack, but the burgher forces, and notably a company of the Swellendam Nationals under Daniel du Plessis, made a determined resistance. They were easily overborne however by the superior numbers of the English troops, and compelled to retire towards Capetown. The same evening the Council met, and decided that any further resistance was useless. A conference with General Craig was held on the following day at Rustenberg, the country residence of the Governor at Rondebosch, where the terms of the capitulation were drawn up and signed. Next day the English troops entered and took possession of Capetown. The rule of the Dutch East India Company was brought to an end.

Of the thirteen articles comprising the treaty of capitulation the most important were the following: the Company's troops became prisoners of war, but the officers were allowed to remain at the Cape or return to Europe on pledging their honour not to serve against England during the rest of the war. Colonists were to keep all their rights including the free exercise of their religion. No new tax was to be imposed and the old imposts were to be reduced as far as possible. All property belonging to the Company was to be handed over to the English, but the rights of private property were to be protected.

The first British occupation lasted for seven and a half years, from 1795 to 1803. The occupation was

The English force resumes its advance.

Battle at Wynberg.

Defeat of the Dutch troops

Council decides to capitulate.

Conference at Rustenberg.

The English troops occupy Capetown.

Terms of the capitulation.

The first occupation intended to be temporary.

Efforts made
to conciliate
the Dutch.

Abolition of
monopolies.

Civil Service
retained.

Redemption
of paper
money.

Reduction of
the auction
tax.

Formation
of a Burgher
Senate.

meant at first to be merely temporary, the English holding the Cape in the interests of the Prince of Orange. For the first two months the administration was in the hands of the commanders of the British forces acting conjointly. Every effort was made to conciliate the Dutch colonists to the new rule. It was announced, that the British commanders wished to do everything possible to secure the happiness and welfare of the inhabitants. The monopolies and oppressive restrictions of the Company's rule would be abolished; internal trade was to be free; no new taxes would be levied, and those which were burdensome to the people would be removed. As little change as possible was made in the civil service, the bulk of the Company's servants retaining their offices. A fixed rate of exchange was proclaimed for the redemption of the paper money, which was then in currency to the amount of over a quarter of a million pounds sterling. This went a long way towards conciliating the colonists, removing as it did one of the main sources of apprehension. The unpopular auction tax was greatly reduced.

Some measure of self government was also introduced. A Burgher Senate of six members was set up to take the place and assume the functions of the former board created in the last years of the rule of the Company. Its duties were to advise the government on all matters affecting the interests of the colonists, to give advice as to the best methods of taxation, and to control local affairs. In every way possible the new government tried to convince the colonists that they would be better off than in the days of the rule of the Dutch East India Company.

These measures of conciliation proved successful. The burghers of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Swellendam districts were persuaded without difficulty to take the oath of allegiance, swearing to be "true and faithful to his Majesty George the Third for so long a time as his Majesty shall remain in possession of this colony."

When the government had been thus settled, Major General Craig was appointed commandant of the town and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope with full civil and military powers. In the middle of November in the same year Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke sailed with the bulk of the fleet for India. The troops which had been employed in the conquest were left under the orders of General Craig to protect the colony.

General Craig, though without any former experience of civil government, proved to be a prudent and capable administrator. His chief difficulty at first came from the obstinate refusal of the majority of the burghers of Graaff Reinet to take the oath of allegiance. When the newly appointed landdrost, Mr. Bresler, arrived in the district to take over his duties, the burghers held a meeting to decide upon their course of action. They agreed to appoint one of their number, Marthinus Prinsloo, as their head, to retain their own government, and to forbid the taking of the oath of allegiance. The English flag, which the landdrost had caused to be hoisted over the drostdy, was hauled down by three of the burghers. Mr. Bresler was compelled to leave the district and return to Capetown.

When he heard of this act of defiance General Craig

Success of
these
measures.

Oath of
allegiance
taken.

General Craig
made head
of the
government.

Departure
of Admiral
Elphinstone
and General
Clarke.

General
Craig's admin-
istration.

Troubles at
Graaf Reinet.

Oath of
allegiance
refused.

The landdrost
expelled.

Expedition sent by General Craig.

Appearance of a Dutch fleet at Saldanha Bay.

Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig proceed to Saldanha Bay.

Unconditional surrender demanded.

Condition of the Dutch fleet.

Its surrender to the English admiral.

immediately sent an armed force to uphold his authority. The Graaff Reinet burghers were trusting to receive aid from a large Dutch and French fleet then on its way to the Cape. The fleet appeared in Saldanha Bay under the command of Admiral Englebertus Lucas in August 1796. The British Government were aware of its despatch, and had ordered Admiral Elphinstone to return to the Cape from Madras with strong reinforcements. He had arrived at Simonstown at the end of May. Additional troops had also been sent out to stop at the Cape on their way to India. As soon as the news of the arrival of the hostile fleet reached Capetown, General Craig marched to Saldanha Bay to prevent the Dutch troops from landing, leaving some four thousand troops behind to defend the peninsula. Admiral Elphinstone brought his fleet round from Simonstown. A letter was sent to the Dutch commander-in-chief by the two English commanders, demanding an immediate and unconditional surrender to prevent the needless shedding of blood.

Admiral Lucas had not expected so overwhelming a display of force. His crews were in a state of mutiny, since most of them were adherents of the Orange party. All discipline had ceased. He had no choice but to agree to the terms offered to him. His ships were at once taken possession of by the English Admiral. The majority of the soldiers on board were found to be Germans who had been taken prisoners of war by the French and had been compelled against their will to take service under the Batavian Republic. Most of them, as well as of the seamen, offered to enter the English service,

They were willingly taken over, so that the defences of the colony were in this way greatly strengthened. The Dutch ships were put into commission as British men of war. Some of the soldiers were kept at the Cape to strengthen the garrison, and others were drafted along with the home regiments to India.

The defeat of the Dutch fleet was a great blow to the Nationals at Graaff Reinet. They were compelled to abandon all hope of assistance from Holland and to submit to the English government. General Craig's rule came to an end in May of the following year 1797. The ministry in England were now resolved to make the occupation permanent, and to give the Cape the ordinary constitution of a Crown Colony. A civilian Governor was appointed to hold all civil and military power. Lord Macartney, a man of exceptional ability and wide experience, was selected for this post, and Major General Francis Dundas was made commander of the forces.

The new Governor's instructions showed the earnest desire of the English government to act in a most liberal and sympathetic spirit towards the colonists. Liberty of conscience and the free exercise of public worship were to be allowed to all; arrears in land rents outstanding at the date of the conquest were to be remitted, and the administration was to be conducted on the principles of the strictest justice and moderation. The period of Macartney's rule has been described for us by two of the ablest writers of the time. The travels of Barrow, written while he was acting as private secretary to Lord Macartney, give the best account we possess of the condition of the country districts and of

The English
defence
strengthened.

Suppression
of the
Graaff Reinet
rebellion.

General Craig
retires
May 1797.

Civiliaan
governor
appointed.
Character
of Lord
Macartney.

His
instructions.
Their liberal
spirit.

The writings
of Sir John
Barrow and
Lady Anne
Barnard.

Firmness and justice of Lord Macartney's rule.

Difficulties of his administration.

New oath of allegiance.

Trade regulations.

the life and character of their inhabitants. The charming pages of Lady Anne Barnard, the wife of the colonial secretary, give us an inimitable picture of the social life of Cape Town and the Peninsula.

Lord Macartney was a strong Tory, and was little inclined to tolerate republican principles. While acting at all times with the strictest justice and the most scrupulous regard for honourable dealing, he was firm almost to the point of harshness in suppressing disaffection and in upholding law and order. Such a policy was probably necessary in the condition of the Cape at that period, but, while it procured for him the respect and confidence of the Dutch colonists, it prevented him from gaining their affection, and he has frequently been charged in consequence with hardness and want of sympathy. It must be remembered that during the whole period of his administration Great Britain was engaged in a life and death struggle with Napoleon. Every available man who could be spared was being utilised in this great contest, and Macartney had to accomplish a most difficult and delicate task under the most unfavourable circumstances.

A new oath of allegiance was demanded in consideration of the altered circumstances under which the government was held. It was taken for the most part without serious resistance. Free trade had been promised to the colonists, and an honest attempt was now made to fulfil that promise. The farmers had to supply any produce required by the government at stated prices, which were fixed on a fair and even liberal scale. As in the time of the Company a duty of five per cent

was levied upon the value of goods imported and exported. No merchandise was allowed to be landed from any vessel under a foreign flag unless by special permission. The colony was subject to the same trade regulations as applied at that time to the other English colonies. Merchandise imported from any of His Majesty's dominions in British ships was admitted free of duty. Other countries, if they were not at war with Great Britain, could carry on trade in the colony subject to fixed duties amounting to ten per cent of the value of foreign goods conveyed in foreign ships and five per cent in the case of foreign goods carried in British ships, or British goods carried in foreign ships. Commerce with ports East of the Cape could only be carried on by the English East India Company.

Import and export duties.

Important reforms were also made in the high court of justice. Its members were now reduced to a president and seven members, who were to receive fixed salaries. The same principle was introduced into the civil service. The officials were to receive fixed salaries paid at regular intervals. All fees and perquisites, which had proved such a fertile source of corruption under the rule of the Dutch Company, were abolished. In 1798 the first post office in the colony was established. The greater security and prosperity of the country is reflected in the rapid rise which took place in the revenue from 1796 onwards. During the five years between 1797 and 1802 it averaged £ 73,500 a year, which was more than three times the amount it had stood at in the year 1796 when Lord Macartney assumed office. Complaints have been made by some writers of the big salaries

Reforms in the high court of justice.

Reforms in the civil service.

Abolition of fees and perquisites.

First post office.

Rapid rise in the revenue.

Peace on the frontier.

drawn by the governor and his staff from the revenue of the colony, but it is usual to ignore this rapid increase of the revenue in the statement of these charges.

Concessions to the farmers.

During Lord Macartney's administration there was a temporary lull in the troubles in Graaff Reinet and on the frontier. Mr. Bresler returned to take up his position as landdrost and was received without opposition. The arrears in land rents in the district were remitted, and the farmers who had been driven from their homes by the Kaffirs were induced to return by the promise of being allowed to hold their farms rent free for six years from the time of their resuming occupation. An attempt was also made to end the desolating border warfare by the inauguration of a new native policy.

New native policy.

The Fish river was to be the boundary between the two races. All intercourse between the farmers and the natives was prohibited. All farmers and traders living beyond the Fish river were to return, and to reside within the limits of the colony, while the Xosas on their part were to keep within their own territory. No one, white or black, was to cross over the boundary without permission. By keeping the two races thus rigidly apart, the Governor thought it would be possible to avoid friction between them.

Intercourse between natives and colonists forbidden.

The policy found to be impracticable

As a matter of fact it was found to be impracticable to enforce such a policy. It was impossible to prevent the crossing and re-crossing of the two races over so long a line of frontier. To enforce the regulations it would have been necessary to establish posts along the whole boundary line, and this would have involved an expense beyond the resources of the government. The Governor was

resolved however to give the new policy a fair trial. The landdrost and Mr. Barrow, the Governor's secretary, were commissioned to travel through the frontier districts and induce both the natives and the farmers to conform to the new regulations. Interviews were held with the chiefs of the principal clans which had established themselves within the colonial frontier. Most of them professed their readiness to cross over to the native territory, but expressed their fear of the chief, Gaika, with whom they were at war. A visit was next paid to Gaika at his kraal on the banks of the Keiskamma river. That chief was induced to send a message of peace and friendship to the chiefs, established in the colony, accompanied with a promise not to molest them if they chose to return. He pledged himself also to allow none of his subjects to cross the frontier or to have any dealings with the colonists.

In 1798 the garrison had to be greatly reduced to meet the danger in India arising from Napoleon's Egyptian expedition and the intrigues of the French with the native princes. The bulk of the regular troops were therefore despatched to India in that year under Major General Baird and accomplished notable service there in the storming of Seringapatam and the subjugation of Tipu Mysore. General Baird, as we shall presently see, returned to the Cape afterwards in command of the forces engaged in the second conquest of the Cape in 1806.

In the same year Lord Macartney retired to England on account of ill health. General Dundas was appointed acting governor and held that position for about a year

The landdrost
and
Mr. Barrow
visit the
frontier
districts.

Interviews
with the
chiefs.

Treaty with
Gaika.

Reduction of
the garrison
in 1798.

Retiral of
Lord
Macartney.
Dundas
acting
governor.

Renewed outbreak of insurrection in Graaff Reinet.

Its causes.

Arrest of Captain Delport and Adriaan van Jaarsveld.

Troops sent under General Vandeleur.
Employment of Hottentots.

Its effects.

Suppression of the rebellion.

Native rising

till the arrival of Sir George Yonge in December 1799.

Lord Macartney's departure was the signal for the renewed outbreak of insurrection in Graaff Reinet. The revolt was mainly due to the reduction of the garrison in 1798, the farmers hoping to be able to take advantage of the difficulties of the government. The pretext made was the arrest and banishment of a certain Captain Delport for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and the imprisonment of the former commandant, Adriaan van Jaarsveld, on a charge of forgery. The latter was rescued by force from the custody of the officials, who had been sent to effect his capture. Dundas immediately despatched General Vandeleur with a strong body of troops and a company of Pandours to Graaff Reinet. The employment of Hottentots against white colonists was undoubtedly a serious mistake. It roused the resentment of the farmers, making the suppression of the insurrection more difficult in consequence, and tended to increase the bitterness between the settlers and the government. It must be remembered however, that the government was short of troops at the time owing to the departure of so many of the regiments to India. The display of force was sufficient to overawe the rebels. The greater number appeared at the General's summons and laid down their arms. The majority were set free on the payment of a small fine, and only eighteen of the ringleaders were brought to Capetown and imprisoned, pending their trial in the high court of justice.

The reduction of the garrison had a still more disastrous effect in causing the outbreak of the third great

Kaffir war in February 1799. Once more the Zuurveld was invaded by a horde of Xosas under the leadership of the chief Ndlambe. About thirty white colonists were murdered and great herds of cattle were captured and driven over the Fish river. The rising assumed such serious dimensions that the General felt himself compelled to take the field in person. The burgher commandos of Stellenbosch were called out to assist the regular troops. The danger was increased by a widespread rising among the Hottentots. Dundas, realising the danger of a native war at a time when the colony was almost denuded of troops, made every effort to induce the Xosas and Hottentots to come to terms. Maynier accompanied him to order to use his influence with the natives who trusted him as a friend. Since there was nothing left to plunder, the Kaffirs were easily induced to depart over the Fish river.

Ndlambe.

Murder of colonists.

General Dundas take the command in person.
Rising among the Hottentots.

Terms agreed upon.

Their unsatisfactory character.

Indignation of the farmers.

Injudicious appointment of Maynier as commissioner of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet.

All the advantage was on their side. Once more it had been demonstrated that the government was unable to protect the lives and property of the sorely tried settlers on the frontier. The farmers were indignant at the loss of their cattle through what they considered to be the pusillanimity of the government. The employment of the Pandours against them had greatly added to the ill feeling. Their disaffection was still further increased by another serious blunder on the part of the government. The hated Maynier, as a reward for his services, was made resident commissioner of the districts of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet, with very extensive powers. The ruined farmers looked upon these proceedings with the utmost bitterness and despair.

Sir George Yonge appointed governor.

His weak character

Complaints against his government.

His recall and dismissal.

Dundas takes over the government.

Storm and stress on the frontier.

To add to the difficulties of the colony at this period the home government made a most unfortunate mistake in the appointment of Sir George Yonge as governor in succession to Lord Macartney. Even the charitable Lady Anne Barnard, who made a point of seeing the best in every one, has nothing to say in his favour. "Our new governor," she says in one of her letters, "is a very weak old soul", and she proceeds to draw a most unflattering contrast between him and his able predecessor. He had no qualifications, derived either from ability or experience, for so important and difficult a position, and his appointment cannot be regarded as otherwise than a political job of the most unjustifiable character. His lack of tact and his carelessness in business matters, combined with his ridiculous vanity and frivolity, made him an object of contempt to the Dutch and English alike, and undid much of the good work accomplished by Lord Macartney. Fortunately the numerous complaints against his government led to his speedy recall and dismissal in April 1801. A commission appointed after his departure to investigate his conduct revealed most serious scandals, including among others the frequent practice of bribery and corruption on the part of his subordinates.

On his departure General Dundas again took over the government provisionally, and remained in office till the colony was handed back to the Dutch at the treaty of Amiens in February 1803. The closing years of the first British occupation were marked by a renewal of storm and stress on the frontier. Maynier's unpopularity drove the farmers into another insurrection,

They rose in arms against him and demanded his recall. Dundas sent a force to maintain order and suspended Maynier pending the sitting of a commission to examine into the complaints against him. The palpable exaggeration of the charges brought forward defeated the objects of the farmers and resulted in his acquittal. At the same time the burgher commandos had to be called out to deal with a Hottentot and Xosa rising. Military operations were still in progress when the treaty of Amiens was signed in March 1802. In accordance with one of the articles of this treaty the Cape colony was restored to the Batavian Republic, the transfer to take place within three months after the signing of the treaty. The States General appointed Jacob Abraham de Mist as commissioner general to take over the colony from the English, and General Janssens was appointed governor.

The Dutch East India Company having come to an end, the seventeen directors were replaced by a new body called the Council for the Asiatic possessions and establishments established in 1800, acting under the authority of the States General. The Dutch kept the Cape for nearly three years. De Mist remained in the colony for about a year and a half to put the government in working order in his capacity as commissioner general. On his departure to Europe in September 1804, the administration was taken over by the governor Janssens and held by him until the second conquest of the Cape in January 1806.

The rule of De Mist and Janssens was wise and energetic. They were both men of great ability and worked

Recall of
Maynier
demanded.

His trial and
acquittal.

Xosa and
Hottentot
rising.

Treaty of
Amiens 1802.

The Cape
restored to
the Batavian
Republic.

De Mist and
Janssens.

End of the
Dutch East
India
Company.

Creation of
the new
Council for
the Asiatic
establish-
ments 1800.

De Mist
Commissioner
General
at the Cape.

Janssens
Governor
1804 to 1806
Administra-
tion of De Mist
and Janssens.

Their ability and energy.

Reforms of the English period continued and extended.

The Burgher Senate.

Liberty of conscience and civil equality.

Dutch Reformed Church.

Objections of the people to religious toleration and secular education.

Failure of the education scheme.

harmoniously together with a sincere desire to promote the welfare of the colony. They travelled all over the country, making themselves personally acquainted with the life of the people, settling grievances, and inaugurating many useful reforms. No attempt was made to return to the old corrupt and despotic rule of the Company. The reforms introduced under the British administration were maintained, and even extended. The Burgher Senate, which had given the colonists for the first time a share in the management of their own affairs, was allowed to continue. Liberty of conscience and civil equality were granted to the adherents of every creed by the ordinance of July 1804, as under the British rule. At the same time the Dutch Reformed church was declared to be the established church of the country. Its clergymen were to be appointed and paid by the government.

These liberal measures were very unpopular among the people of the country districts, who strongly objected to any one receiving the same civil and religious rights as themselves. A similar objection was made to another enlightened idea of the commissioner, namely the establishment of a system of public schools not connected with any church, to give the children of the colonists an opportunity of acquiring a good secular education. An education board was created for this purpose in 1805. This excellent scheme proved a failure through the opposition of the colonists. As Dr. Theal remarks: "Better no education at all from books than instruction not based on religion, was the cry of the farmers from one end of the country to the other."

Certain other useful reforms were specially designed to benefit the country districts. Two new administrative divisions were created, since it was felt that the existing divisions were too large for effective government. To the first of these, which was carved out of the old district of Graaff Reinet, Janssens gave the name Uitenhage, an old family name of the Commissioner-general. The second, which was cut off from the Stellenbosch district, was given the name of Tulbagh, in honour of the much loved governor of former years, whose memory was still affectionately cherished by the colonists.

A year later the local government was remodelled by the ordinance of 1805. The duties of the landdrosts and heemraeden were carefully regulated and defined. The former were to act as before as the local agents of the government in their respective districts to protect the rights of the inhabitants to personal freedom and the possession of their property, to encourage industry, education, the extension of agriculture, and the improvement of stock; to preserve forests and encourage tree planting, to keep a record of land grants, and to collect the revenue. They were in addition to maintain peace and friendship with the natives beyond the border, and to protect the Hottentots in their rights as a free people. Their judicial powers and functions were carefully defined. They were to take preparatory examinations in charges of crime, to cause deserters and vagrants to be arrested, and to send them, along with prisoners charged with serious crimes, to Capetown for trial. They were entrusted also with the important duty of protecting slaves from ill treatment.

Reforms designed for the benefit of the country districts.

Creation of new administrative districts.

1. Uitenhage.
2. Tulbagh.

Remodelling of the local government.

Duties of the Landdrosts.

Their administrative duties.

Protection of the natives.

Their judicial powers and functions.

Protection of slaves.

The
Heemraden.

Their
qualifications
and duties.

The court
of the
Heemraden.

Extent of its
jurisdiction.

The field
cornets.

Their
functions,
civil and
military.

In cases of petty crime, where the punishment inflicted by law did not exceed fifty rixdollars, they had power of jurisdiction without public trial. Fixed salaries and an official residence were provided for them.

The Heemraden were unpaid officers, corresponding somewhat to the justices of the peace in England, and selected from the most respected and trustworthy burghers. They were to be six in number, residents in the district, and possessed of freehold or lease-hold property. They were to hold a court monthly in the Stellenbosch and Tulbagh divisions, and quarterly in the other districts. The jurisdiction of this court was minutely defined. It extended over all disputes regarding the boundaries of farms, the impounding of cattle, and disputes arising from auction sales. A right of appeal lay from its decisions in civil cases, where the amount in dispute exceeded twenty five rixdollars. In criminal cases they were responsible to the attorney-general, and in civil cases to the governor.

The field cornets, whose duties at first had been purely military, were also given a more definite position. Every district was divided into wards, and in each ward there was to be a field cornet, nominated by the landdrost and appointed by the governor. He was to act as the representative of the landdrost, settle petty disputes, and generally to perform the same duties, other than judicial, which the landdrosts discharged in their respective districts. In addition, they were charged with military duties of an important character. They had to call out and lead the burghers of their wards when required to do so by the landdrosts.

The burgher commandos were also reorganised. The

burghers were divided into three classes according to age, and those not called on for personal service were to supply food, horses, and transport, according to their means. This excellent arrangement had the effect of organising the whole population of the colony for purposes of military defence. These local arrangements have been described at some length because of their importance in showing the system of government under which the great majority of the people in the country lived. The inhabitants of the country districts seldom visited Capetown, and so came into contact with the government only through the local officials.

Certain other important measures designed for the benefit of the country districts deserve mention. In 1804 a commission was appointed to carry out improvements in agriculture and stockbreeding, with the idea of making the colony a great wool-producing country. The quality of the wool was greatly improved, and within two years the number of wool-bearing sheep in the country was increased to eleven thousand. An expert was also brought out to improve the quality of the Cape wine. In 1805 a postal service was started for the conveyance of letters between Capetown and the country districts. Hitherto there had been no facilities for communication, since the post office opened in 1798 had been designed only for ocean mails. A short time before, the first newspaper, the Government Gazette, had been issued, and the governor felt it to be desirable to diminish as far as possible, by means of a postal system and the circulation of the newspaper, the ignorance prevailing in the country districts through the

Division of
the burghers
into classes
for military
purposes.

Importance
of these
local arrange-
ments.

Agricultural
commission
appointed.

Improvement
in the quality
of wool.

Postal
service
established.

Government
Gazette
issued.

Increase in
the issue of
paper money.

enforced isolation of the inhabitants. To meet the expense of these reforms however, a dangerous increase in the issue of paper money had to be made. Reckoning the rixdollar as worth $3\frac{3}{4}$ English money, the whole amount of paper money in circulation in 1804 amounted to £ 347,000.

The native
question.

Tour of
Janssens
through the
Colony.

Dr. Vander-
kemp and
the London
missionary
society.

Mission
station
founded
for the
Hottentots.

Visit of
Janssens.

Complaints
of the
Hottentots
against
the farmers.

Bethelsdorp
founded.

Hottentots
promised
protection.

The thorny native question was grappled with in the same thorough and conscientious fashion. Shortly after his appointment, Governer Janssens set out on a personal visit to the frontier districts, to investigate for himself the relations existing between the white colonists, the Xosas, and the Hottentots. In 1799 Dr. Vanderkemp had arrived in South Africa as an agent of the London missionary society. His first attempt to form a station near the kraal of the Xosa chief Gaika failed, whereupon he returned to Graaff Reinet and founded, towards the close of 1801, a Hottentot location near Algoa Bay. When the governor visited the settlement at Fort Frederick, the Hottentots complained that they had been compelled to leave the service of the farmers on account of ill treatment. On making an enquiry, the truth of many of these charges was indisputably established. Janssens favoured the plan, first proposed by General Dundas, of assigning a tract of land for the exclusive use of the Hottentots, where they could be under the influence of the missionaries. For this purpose the mission station of Bethelsdorp was founded, and a grant of land was made to the missionaries for occupation by the Hottentots under their care. The farmers who had been found guilty of ill treating the Hottentots were removed from the district, and the

latter were assured of complete protection of life and property.

The governor then proceeded to hold interviews with the principal Xosa chiefs. An attempt was made to carry out the policy first inaugurated by Lord Macartney, of effecting a complete separation between the farmers and the colonists. A proclamation was issued forbidding the farmers to employ Kaffirs as servants. Gaika promised to expel the colonists who had settled in his country across the Fish river, which was once more declared to be the boundary between the two races. Peace was arranged between Gaika and the Kaffir chiefs settled in the Zuurveld, who were then on the point of going to war with him, and the latter were persuaded to depart into the native territory.

The favour shown to the missionaries was very much resented by the colonists. Frequent complaint was made that the missionaries were biased against the farmers through unfounded stories of ill-treatment told them by the Hottentots. It was also alleged that at some of the mission stations very lax discipline was kept; habits of industry were not enforced, and the Hottentots were living in a condition of filth and idleness.

When De Mist made his tour through the colony in 1803 he visited the principal missions stations with a view to finding what truth there was in these charges. He was much impressed by the spirit of order and industry shown in the settlements of the Moravian missionaries, more particularly at Baviaans Kloof or Genadendal. This was the oldest mission station in South Africa, having been founded by the Moravians in

Interviews
with the
Xosa chiefs.

Attempt to
carry out Lord
Macartney's
native policy.

Promises
of Gaika.

Peace made.

Complaints of
the colonists
against the
missionaries.

Tour of
De Mist
through the
colony.

He visits the
principal
mission
stations.

Genadendal.

Unsatisfactory condition of Bethelsdorp.

Lack of industry and discipline.

De Mist's advice.

Rupture of the peace of Amiens.

Napoleon refuses to recognise the independence of the Batavian Republic.

The Batavian government compelled to assist France.

1792. Very different however was the condition of some of the London Missionary Society stations. At Bethelsdorp for example he found no signs of cultivation, and no effort being made to inculcate habits of industry among the Hottentots. The missionaries themselves lived like the natives, Dr. Vanderkemp believing that it was necessary to adopt the habits of the Hottentots in order to induce them to accept Christianity. The Commissioner was very unfavourably impressed by the character of the place, and on his departure gave the missionaries some wholesome advice, to which unfortunately very little attention was paid.

The peace of Amiens, as we have seen, was of short duration. Napoleon's violations of the treaty caused a renewal of the war in Europe in 1803. One of the articles of the peace had stipulated for the independence of the Batavian Republic. In spite of this formal agreement however, the first Consul did not allow the Dutch to recover their independence. He refused to withdraw the French troops and would not suffer any change to be made in the government. When England declared war in 1803, Napoleon ordered the Batavian government to expel the English ambassador and to supply 25,000 men for the war. The republic wished to remain neutral, and offered some opposition to the brusque demands of Napoleon. They were reminded that disobedience would expose the country to a second invasion. This threat compelled the government of the republic to sign a convention to the effect that it would support the French Republic during the coming war and contribute to the maintenance of the French army. The

fate of the Cape colony was thus decided in Europe. Napoleon, in spite of his great victories on the continent, was unable, through his failure to control the sea, to preserve for the Batavian Republic its South African colony. A month after Austerlitz the Cape was conquered for the second time by England.

As soon as he learnt of the outbreak of war in Europe General Janssens did his best to strengthen the defences of the Cape to enable it to resist a foreign attack. Orders however were received from Holland for the despatch of his best regiment to Batavia for the purpose of protecting Java. Janssens tried to make up the deficiency by increasing the numbers of the Hottentot corps, but he relied mainly in the event of invasion on the support of the burgher militia. The finances unfortunately were in an unsatisfactory condition. The rapid rise in the revenue, which had taken place during the period of the British administration, was not maintained. The annual income of the colony dwindled from an average of £ 73,500 between 1797 and 1802 to an average of £ 61,600 from 1803 to 1806. This was insufficient even for the military expenditure, and to meet the deficiency Janssens had been drawing at the rate of £ 100,000 a year from the treasury of the Batavian Republic, which was now almost exhausted. No reinforcements had been sent out since the transfer of the colony, and the original strength of the regiments had been greatly reduced by sickness, desertion, and withdrawal, so that the regular European troops were only between fifteen and sixteen hundred in number.

This was the situation of affairs at the Cape when

Napoleon
unable to
protect the
Dutch
colonies.

Janssens
makes pre-
parations for
defending the
Cape.

His
difficulties.

Decline in
the revenue.

Exhaustion
of Holland.

Its effects
on the Cape.

Weakness of
the garrison.

Arrival of the
British fleet
1806.

Sir Home
Popham and
Major General
Baird.
Events
in Europe.

Burgher
commandos
called out.

Landing of
the English
troops.

General
Janssens'
force.

Hopelessness
of the
defence.

The skirmish
at Blueberg.

the British fleet arrived in January 1806, under the command of Commodore Sir Home Popham. It carried some seven thousand troops under the orders of Major-General David Baird, the distinguished soldier, who had accomplished such conspicuous service in India. While it was on its way to the Cape, epoch-making events were happening in Europe. The battle of Trafalgar was fought in that year, and the capitulation of the Austrians at Ulm took place. The time of arrival was well chosen. It was the season of the wheat-threshing and the ripening of the grapes, a fact which made it difficult for many of the farmers to leave their homes. By means of signal guns fired from hill to hill the inhabitants of Swellendam were made aware of the invasion eight hours after the fleet came in sight. The burgher commandos were called out in great haste and marched at once to Capetown.

Three days after his arrival the English general was able to disembark his troops with only trifling loss on the Blueberg beach, and commenced his march to Capetown. General Janssens marched his small army from Capetown to meet them. It was a motley force of some two thousand men recruited from almost every nation in Europe. Against six thousand picked British troops the prospects of serious resistance were hopeless. General Janssens himself had repeatedly expressed the opinion that the expense involved in maintaining the Cape was a burden too great to be borne by Holland in her exhausted condition, and that the loss of the colony would really be a gain to the mother-country; so his task was not an inspiring one. The skirmish which followed,

resulted in the easy victory of the English forces. The mercenary troops fled at the first attack, and although the burghers, the French corps, and the Hottentot auxiliaries stood their ground well against the charge of the Highland brigade, supported by a heavy artillery fire, Janssens wisely ordered a retreat towards Rietvlei in order to prevent a needless slaughter. The English army then resumed its march to Capetown. The commandant in charge, Colonel Von Prophalow, realising that it was useless to attempt to defend the town, consented to arrange terms of capitulation, which were signed at the little suburb of Papendorp, now Woodstock, on the 10th January.

The principal clauses included the surrender of the castle, the surrender of the regular troops and of the French marines, who became prisoners of war, and the delivery to the English government of all property belonging to the Batavian government. The rights of the colonists were guaranteed. A force was then despatched to occupy the village of Stellenbosch. Janssens had retired to the Hottentots Holland mountains with the remainder of his troops after the battle at the Blueberg, in the hope of being able to make a stand there and cut off communication with the eastern part of the colony. But when he heard of the capitulation of Capetown and the occupation of Stellenbosch, he saw that further resistance was useless, and came to terms with General Baird on the 18th. January.

Eight years after the conquest, the possession of the Cape was definitely secured to England by the treaty signed at London on the 13th August between Eng-

Easy victory
of the
English.

Janssens
retires.

The English
occupy
Capetown.

Terms of the
capitulation.

Stellenbosch
occupied.

Janssens
surrenders.

Final cession
of the Cape
in 1814.

Union of
Belgium and
Holland.

England pays
compensation
to the
Netherlands.

land and the Netherlands. By the previous treaty of Paris the Belgic provinces had become incorporated with Holland to form a kingdom for the Prince of Orange. England was already possessed of the Cape by right of conquest, but by way of compensation to the Netherlands she agreed to pay the sum of £ 5,000,000, which was to be spent in improving the defences of the Netherlands, and in meeting the expense involved in setting up the new Dutch-Belgian kingdom. The Dutch colonies, such as Java, Curacao, and others, which had been captured by England during the war, were given back to the Netherlands.

CHAPTER VI.

THE 1820 SETTLERS.

THE GREAT TREK.

After the second occupation of the Cape by the British in 1806, the first two governors, the Earl of Caledon and Sir James Cradock showed a conciliatory spirit towards the colonists. The English were by no means sure of continuing to hold the Cape against Napoleon. Therefore, as the occupation was regarded as only temporary, no radical changes were made in the government. The Dutch laws were retained, the language of official documents and of the law-courts was Dutch. The former officials were allowed to keep their posts in the public service. Old grievances concerning taxation and monopolies were remedied. No new taxes were imposed. The governor remained a despot. He could make what laws he liked, and there existed no Council to control his actions. He could fix the prices that the troops should pay for their produce, and he could say exactly how much should be bought from each farmer. He had the power to dismiss any government official, except the president of the High Court of Justice. This was the form of government to which the colonists had been accustomed in the days of the

Wise policy
of
Governors,
Caledon and
Cradock.

No changes
made.

Despotic
powers of the
Governors.

Circuit Court established.

Dutch East India Company and it was considered advisable to change it for the present. But in spite of possessing almost unlimited powers, Caledon and Cradock governed with wisdom and tact. In 1811, during the time when Caledon was governor, a Circuit Court was established. Two or more members of the High Court of Justice sitting at Cape Town were to be sent on circuit throughout the Colony, in order to try cases of special difficulty or importance, and to see that the landdrosts were acting justly and efficiently. In the same year the part of Swellendam east of the Gaurits River was proclaimed a separate district and called "George", after George III.

District of George founded.

Cradock's work for education.

The next governor, Cradock, showed his wisdom by the interest he took in education. Free schools were established in Cape Town and in several country places for poor European children. Mission-schools for coloured children also received Cradock's support.

Lord Charles Somerset.

His arbitrary character.

Advisory Council created 1825.

Lord Charles Somerset succeeded as governor in 1814. Although he possessed only the same powers as his predecessors, he exercised them more arbitrarily. So many complaints reached the British government of his overbearing acts that in 1822 a Commission was appointed to examine into the nature of the Governor's powers. They recommended the creation of a Council of six members to assist and advise the Governor, so that after 1825 the colonists were no longer subject to the will of a single man, and a step was taken towards a more liberal form of government. As an example of Somerset's arbitrary measures, we may mention the suppression of a newspaper called the "Commercial

Suppression of the Press.

Advertiser" in 1824, edited by Fairbairn and Pringle. Although Somerset incurred unpopularity because of his despotic character, he did much to benefit the colony. He interested himself in agriculture, in the improvement of breeds of horses and cattle, in the construction of roads, and in the encouragement of coast-trading.

There were very few signs of active discontent among the Dutch during the earliest years of British administration, except in the isolated instance of the rebellion of Slachter's Nek in 1815. A Boer, Frederick Bezuidenhout, who lived in the Baviaans Valley, had been summoned before the court of the Landdrost and Heemraden, and then before the Circuit Court sitting at Graaff Reinet, to answer a charge of maltreating a Hottentot servant. When he refused to appear he was sentenced to a month in prison. The under sheriff, accompanied by some coloured troops, was sent to arrest him. Bezuidenhout offered resistance and was killed in the ensuing struggle. His brother, Johannes Bezuidenhout, vowed to avenge his death. He tried to raise a revolt against the British government in the Graaff Reinet district, with the idea of forming this part of the colony into an independent republic, just as the Boers of the same place had risen against the Dutch government in 1795 in the time of Sluysken. Rather more than fifty farmers joined him, but the rising did not become general and many of the neighbouring burghers helped the government to put down the rebels. Most of the insurgents were forced to surrender at Slachter's Nek. Johannes Bezuidenhout fled

Benefits from
Somerset's
administra-
tion.

The rebellion
of Slachter's
Nek, 1815.

Trial of the rebels.

to Kaffraria and there made a last stand. He was slain in the encounter that ensued.

Their sentence.

To try the case the Governor appointed a special commission, which consisted of two members of the High Court of Justice at the Cape, Diemel and Hiddingh. The landdrost of Uitenhage, Cuyler, was nominated prosecutor. The rebels received various punishments ranging from short terms of imprisonment to banishment for life, but six were sentenced to death. The governor commuted the sentence of one, but the remaining five were hanged. The sentence could scarcely be called extreme, since the rebels had been guilty of treason in trying to incite the Kaffir chief Gaika to join them in the rebellion. Besides it must be remembered that these were the days when people were hanged for much lighter crimes than treason. There is no doubt that the employment of coloured troops or Pandours in the attempts to arrest the Bezuidenhouts was a mistake on the part of the authorities, and the unfortunate circumstances attending the execution also distressed the Dutch, and caused them to feel resentful towards the Government.

Circumstances leading to bitter feeling.

But the rebellion itself certainly does not indicate that there was at that time any widespread discontent among the Dutch colonists against the British government. If this had been the case, the whole colony would have risen at the signal given at Graaff Reinet. Those who took part in the revolt were not the most reputable section of the Dutch farmers. They were chiefly the younger and more inexperienced men. Many of the Dutch burghers assisted the British to put down the rebellion. Dutch judges tried the case and a

The rebellion not a sign of discontent among the majority of the Dutch.

Dutch landdrost was responsible for carrying out the sentence.

For the causes of the widespread discontent among the Dutch which ultimately led to the Great Trek we must look elsewhere.

The same ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity, that had inspired the French Revolution, found expression in a general feeling of philanthropy in England during the last years of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries. This was the period of prison reform, of the reform of the criminal law, of the restriction and abolition of the slave trade, and finally of the abolition of slavery. The people of England, stirred by this general philanthropic feeling, were perhaps too ready to credit stories told of oppression of the weak, and particularly of oppression of slaves and of the coloured races generally.

Various measures affecting the welfare of the slaves were introduced in England. In 1778, through the efforts of Wilberforce and Clarkson, an act was passed to prevent overcrowding in boats conveying slaves across the Atlantic. Then war broke out in Europe and the philanthropic movement was temporarily checked. However, in 1807, the slave traffic in British colonies was forbidden by act of Parliament, and in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, a declaration was made by the Powers, "that the universal abolition of the slave-trade was a matter particularly worthy of their attention".

In 1823 certain regulations concerning the treatment of slaves were drawn up and sent to all the colonies,

The causes leading to the Great Trek were other than these.

Philanthropic feeling in England evidenced in:

- (1) Social reform in England.
- (2) Abolition of slaves.

- (3) Legislation for the welfare of slaves.

(4) The abolition of slavery in the British colonies.

limiting the working hours of slaves, prescribing the payment of Sunday labour, Sunday holidays etc. These regulations were strictly enforced in the Cape and gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the Dutch colonists. In 1833 a Bill was passed for the total abolition of slavery in the British colonies. Twenty millions were provided by government to compensate slave-owners, but the property in slaves of which owners were compulsorily deprived was worth more than double that sum, so that as Egerton says: "Amidst loud self-laudations and congratulations, the nation paid up conscience money to the extent of something less than ten shillings in the pound".

(5) Activity of the missionary spirit in the colonies.

The work of the missionaries in education, civilisation and exploration.

In the colonies, in consequence of the general philanthropic feeling, the missionary spirit became more active. That many of the missionaries who came to South Africa at this time did good work in civilising and educating the natives, in exploring the land and preparing the way for future colonists, is not to be denied.

Thompson who published a book in 1827 entitled "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa", gives a fair unprejudiced account of both colonists and missionaries. He lived for eight years in South Africa and travelled through every part then known. He says of the missionaries "They have without question been in this country not only the devoted teachers of our holy religion to the heathen tribes but also the indefatigable pioneers of discovery and civilisation". He mentions, however, that "the missionaries labouring among the tribes of the interior are generally persons of limited education, most of them having originally

been common mechanics". He adds that they were well fitted for their calling nevertheless, "being most of them men of good plain understanding and industrious habits". Unfortunately some of the missionaries stirred up angry feeling among the colonists by meddling in the native question without having thoroughly sifted their facts. Belonging to this class was Dr. Vanderkemp who arrived at the Cape in 1799 and Mr. Read who had helped to found a mission at Bethelsdorp in 1803. Read wrote to the London Missionary Society a letter in which he complained of the cruel treatment of the Hottentots by white people, and asserted that more than one hundred murders had been brought to the knowledge of Dr. Vanderkemp and himself in the district of Uitenhage alone. As a result, the Home Government took the matter up, and the Circuit Court was instructed to examine the charges and to bring to justice those who had committed the alleged crimes.

The Black Circuit as it came to be called was held in 1812. It found that the majority of the charges were without foundation. In their report to the Governor, the judges observed that "If Messrs Vanderkemp and Read had taken the trouble to have gone into a summary and impartial investigation of the different stories related to them, many of those complaints which have made such a noise, as well in as without the Colony, must have been considered by themselves as existing in imagination only and consequently neither the Government nor the Court of Justice would have been troubled with them". The colonists were naturally incensed at the misrepresentations

Hostile
feeling of the
colonists
towards the
missionaries.

Dr.
Vanderkemp
and Mr. Read.
Read's letter
to the London
Missionary
Society.

The Black
Circuit, 1812.

Dr. Philip.

made by the missionaries, and at the credence given to these misstatements by the British Government.

After Vanderkemp, Philip may be considered responsible for the misunderstanding between the colonists and the government concerning the treatment of the natives. Like Vanderkemp he seems to have come to South Africa with preconceived notions, regarding the relations between slaves and their owners, ideas probably gained through hearing of the bad treatment of slaves by planters in the West Indies. But this knowledge was not applicable to South Africa, where the slaves were for the most part household slaves and were on the whole well-treated by their masters.

His
"Researches
in
South Africa"
(1828).

Bias shown in
favour of the
Coloured
races.

His views
believed in
Great Britain.

Accusations
brought by
the colonists
against the
missionaries.

In 1828 Philip published a book entitled "Researches in South Africa, illustrating the civil, moral and religious condition of the native tribes; including journals of the author's travels in the interior; together with detailed accounts of the progress of the Christian mission, exhibiting the influences of Christianity in promoting civilisation". In this work he gives the impression that all coloured people are upright and virtuous, that they are cruelly oppressed by the European colonists and even by the English governors at the Cape, and that the missionaries alone understand the coloured races and know how to govern them.

Such representations as these, which were believed in Great Britain, only roused more and more the hostility of the colonists towards the missionaries and towards the government that seemed to give ear to their tales. The colonists also reproached the missionaries with having encouraged the coloured people to be idle and with

having given shelter in their mission-stations to Hottentot and other native scoundrels and vagrants. At the Cape itself the English colonists shared the opinion of the Dutch about many of the missionaries. Captain James Alexander writes of the latter at this time, "Ignorant men full of prejudices, unacquainted with human nature and neither by capacity nor education fitted for the sacred and important office which they assume, and yet, forsooth, turning from the even path of their duty to interfere in politics. Several of such men have been sent to South Africa".

The missionary influence took effect in legislation applied to the Hottentots, and this still further increased the irritation of the colonists against the missionaries and the British government. Until 1809 the Hottentots had been under the nominal authority of their own chiefs. But the old tribal system had long since broken down and the Hottentots had become vagrants, wandering about the country under no proper authority.

In 1809 Caledon had wisely issued a decree against vagrant Hottentots who had proved most troublesome in this way to the colonists. By this decree, all Hottentots were to have a fixed place of abode, properly registered. When moving about they were required to have a pass. They were made subject to taxation and might be called upon to render public services like other dwellers in South Africa. In 1812 Cradock had decreed that the children of Hottentots, born of parents in the service of a European and brought up in the house to the age of eight, should remain there for ten years as apprentices. This law had been passed

Captain
James
Alexander's
narrative.

Legislation
applied to the
Hottentots.

with the idea that it was better for the Hottentot children to be taught habits of industry even at the cost of a temporary sacrifice of freedom, than to wander as vagrants over the country side.

But now under missionary influence in 1828 these wise laws were made of no avail, because, in the "Fiftieth Ordinance" Governor Bourke decreed that the Hottentots, Bushmen, and other free men of colour, could travel about without a passport, and their children should no longer be bound as apprentices. As a result of this law, Hottentot vagabondage became again a curse to the colonists, and increased still further after the emancipation of the slaves. So numerous did the vagrants become that in 1833 Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Smith was able, without any trouble, in a few days, to recruit eight hundred, who were formed into a corps called the First and Second Battalions of Hottentot Infantry. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, a subsequent governor of the Cape, submitted an ordinance repressing vagabondage to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, who, being influenced by John Philip, refused to ratify it.

The interference of the British Government between the colonists and their slaves had, as we have seen, been on the whole unnecessary and therefore unpopular enough, but the manner in which the Slave Emancipation Act was carried out gave rise to still further dissatisfaction. It was not that the colonists, for the most part, objected to setting their slaves free. As a matter of fact, in the district of Graaff Reinet a public meeting of slave-owners had passed a resolution that

The result shown in increased vagabondage.

Unpopular methods of carrying out the Slave Emancipation another cause of discontent among the colonists.

after a date to be fixed in advance, all female slave children should be free from birth, and this would have resulted in the gradual freeing of all slaves. But when the Slave Emancipation Act in 1833 came into force the Cape colonist suffered the same disadvantages as British slaveowning colonists in other parts of the world. The colonists of the Cape owned slaves to the estimated value of three million pounds, but they received only one and a quarter millions as compensation. In addition, the payment of each slave-owner's share was to be made in London, where each claim had to be proved before Commissioners. Thus the colonists, before they could recover even a part of the value of their slave-property, were put to much inconvenience and expense, because they had to pay agents to make good their claims in London.

The loss of their money, was not, however, the chief cause of the trekking of the Boer farmers, for it is a fact that the colonists who trekked had been less affected by the slave-emancipation than those who remained. In the pastoral districts of the East, such as Graaff Reinet and Uitenhage from which districts the trekkers were chiefly drawn, the number of slaves was much less than in the western districts. But it is none the less true, that the losses which the colonists suffered through the methods by which the Slave Emancipation Act was carried out formed one of the grievances against the British Government.

But undoubtedly the main cause of the Great Boer Trek is to be found in the policy adopted by the British government towards the Kaffirs, who, during the

The native
policy of the
British
government a
leading cause
of the Great
Boer Trek..

Kaffir raids.

early years of the nineteenth century, continually ravaged the eastern frontier to the danger and insecurity of the colonists inhabiting that part of the country. Invasions had taken place in 1799 and again in 1811. In the course of the invasion of 1811, Stockenstrom, the landdrost of Swellendam, and eight of his company had been treacherously murdered during an interview with a party of Xosas. The traveller, Latrobe, describes the ravages made by the Kaffirs and the misery of the colonists who had suffered from their depredations. He says of the inhabitants of one farmhouse he visited, that they had not dared to rebuild their houses, as they were fearful of fresh incursions, and that they were content to live in "a hovel not much better than a Hottentot bondhoek".

The fourth
Kaffir war
1811—1812.

In a short campaign against the Kaffirs known as the fourth Kaffir War, the burghers, assisted by a few of the regular troops, succeeded in driving the Kaffirs over the Fish River. A line of forts was established along the frontier. The headquarters of the troops was named Grahamstown after Colonel Graham the commander. As the depredations still continued, Lord Charles Somerset himself went to the Kaffir country and made a treaty with Gaika. The English government made the mistake of expecting the same standard of honour from savages as prevailed among civilised peoples, and after events soon proved that this was unwise. Gaika did not, perhaps could not, keep his word, and the Kaffir raids, encouraged no doubt by the withdrawal of some of the frontier troops, continued. Gaika, in conflict with another

Grahamstown
founded.

Somerset's
treaty with
Gaika.

Kaffir raids
continue.

Kaffir chief, encountered a severe defeat, and appealed to the British government for help. In 1819 British troops were sent to Kaffirland. Gaika's Kaffir enemies laid siege to Grahamstown, but they were defeated and driven back as far as the Kei River.

The Governor now moved the boundary between Kaffir territory and that occupied by the colonists farther to the East, from the Fish River to the Keiskamma River. The land beyond this, between the Keiskamma and the Kei, was to be British territory, but unoccupied by either the colonists or the Kaffirs. It was to be patrolled by soldiers to prevent further Kaffir raids. There was no injustice in driving the Kaffirs from the neutral territory, for it had formerly belonged to the Hottentots, who had been dispossessed of it by the Kaffirs.

Just about this time, partly with the idea of solving the Kaffir question, a scheme was started for the immigration of British settlers into South Africa. The chief reasons for the immigration were: (1) After the Napoleonic wars a time of distress had followed in England, and it had become necessary to find work for a great number of the unemployed, outside the mother-country. (2) The Cape was known to be in want of colonists, especially in the frontier districts of the East where a greater number of Europeans were needed to provide defence against the inroads of the Kaffirs. (3) There was a large demand for artisans in the Cape at this time. As early as 1817 about two hundred Scottish artisans had arrived at the Cape and had easily found employment. A sum of money was voted by

Boundary
between
British
territory and
Kaffirland
moved to the
Keiskamma.

Neutral
territory
between the
Keiskamma
and the Kei.

The
1820
settlers.

Reasons
for the
immigration.

Conditions
of the
immigration.

Arrangements
made by Sir
Rufane
Donkin for the
settlers.

Foundation
of Port
Elizabeth.

Difficulties of
the new
settlers.

government for the purpose of paying the passage of the emigrants, and free grants of land were made. About five thousand settlers arrived, four thousand of whom were landed at Algoa Bay. Sir Rufane Donkin, acting-governor in the absence of Lord Charles Somerset, received them and arranged for their transport into the interior. Dutch farmers willingly lent their wagons to the strangers whose grants of land were in the Zuurveld or, as it had been renamed in 1814, the Albany District. On the shores of Algoa Bay Sir Rufane Donkin laid the foundation stone of the first house in the new town, which he named Port Elizabeth, in memory of his dead wife.

Unfortunately difficulties soon arose for the new settlers. Little forethought had been shown by the government in choosing them. Some of them were retired professional men who wanted to invest their money in farms but who knew little or nothing about farming, others were artisans, very few had any agricultural training, and none knew anything about conditions existing for farming in South Africa. Farms of a hundred acres were too small when they consisted of such land as they found in the Albany district, which was better adapted for sheep or cattle runs than for agriculture. During the first few years their crops were ruined by blight, then floods deluged their farm-lands and washed away their houses. Wild beasts carried off their young stock, locusts destroyed their vines and fruit-trees. To add to their other troubles, like their Dutch neighbours, they suffered from marauding Kaffirs. So great was the destitution among them that a fund had to be opened in Cape Town for their

relief. A large number of the artisans among the colonists moved off to Grahamstown and to other towns where they were able to find lucrative employment. The rest bravely faced and overcame their difficulties, and later on became a thriving section of the population of the Colony.

One result of the foundation of the Albany settlement was to introduce a large English element into the colony which hitherto had been mainly Dutch. This influx was similar to that of British settlers into Lower Canada after the War of American Independence. The English were now settled in large numbers on the very border of the Kaffir country. Like the Dutch they were brought into close quarters with the native question. Both English and Dutch now felt the full brunt of Kaffir raids, and both as we shall see, were affected by Glenelg's mistaken native policy. As Lucas says, "Thenceforward the native question was one in which Englishmen were interested, not as a matter of state policy merely, but as affecting English homes and English lives".

In 1834 Sir Benjamin D'Urban came to the Cape as governor. At the end of the same year more than twelve thousand Kaffirs poured over the frontier, and from Somerset East to Algoa Bay laid waste the whole land. They pillaged and burned the houses and sometimes murdered the occupants. Many of the farmers and their families were obliged to take refuge in the nearest military stations. The governor acted with promptness and energy. Colonel Harry Smith was given command and made his famous ride posthaste to Grahamstown — six hundred miles in six days. In

Results of
the Albany
Settlement.

Sir Benjamin
D'Urban
governor
1834--37.

Kaffir
invasion.

Colonel Harry
Smith's ride.

Sixth Kaffir War.

a couple of months the Kaffirs were driven beyond the Keiskamma River and the troops prepared for an invasion of Kaffirland. The land of the Xosas now extended past the Kei River as far as the Bashee. In April 1835 the Xosa chief, Hintscha came to terms, and the governor issued a proclamation extending the boundary of the Cape Colony to the right bank of the Kei River. The Fingoies who had hitherto dwelt in the land to the East of the Kaffirs asked the governor for protection from the Kaffirs and were moved to the district between the Keiskamma and the Fish River. Beyond the Kei to the East was to be the country of the Kaffirs. The new territory was called the province of Queen Adelaide and a line of forts, of which King William's Town was the chief, was established to garrison it.

Reversal
of Governor's
decision by
the Colonial
Secretary
Lord Glenelg.

The governor had made the wisest settlement possible, but unfortunately the Imperial government interfered. The colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, was influenced doubtless like other people in England by Dr. Philips' view that the Kaffirs were a deeply-injured race who were being robbed by the British of their lawful territories. Besides this, Glenelg was afraid that the extension of British territory would add to the difficulties and expense of the Home Government. He therefore reversed the decision of D'Urban and restored the land beyond the Keiskamma to the Kaffirs. His attitude towards the question is illustrated in his despatch to D'Urban on this occasion. He says, "In the conduct that was pursued towards the Kaffir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony through

Restoration of
territory
between the
Keiskamma
and Kei to
the Kaffirs.

Reasons
stated for his
action.

a long series of years, the Kaffirs had an ample justification for the war into which they rushed with such fatal imprudence at the close of the last year. Urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims, I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusions that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain.... The claim of sovereignty over the new province bounded by the Keiskamma and the Kei must be-renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party".

In the same despatch it was announced that a Lieutenant governor would be appointed to control the Eastern districts of the Colony. Andries Stockenstrom was chosen to fill this position. In the treaties which he made with various Kaffir chiefs it was further agreed that, "Colonists were to have no more right to cross the boundary eastwards without the consent of the Kaffir chiefs, than the Kaffirs to cross westward without the consent of the colonial government. White people when in Kaffirland were to be as fully subject to Kaffir laws, as Kaffirs when in the colony were to be subject to the colonial law".

The result of Glenelg's policy was well stated in a despatch from D'Urban. "It had sufficed", he said, "to dispel the salutary fear of our power.... to shake — if not altogether to alienate — the respect and confidence

A Lieutenant
governor,
Stockenstrom
appointed
over the
eastern
district.
Colonists and
Kaffirs to be
equal

Results of
Glenelg's
policy.

with which we have been regarded by our friends, to banish the flower of the frontier farmers, and to leave those who yet remain in a state of the most fearful insecurity." The effect on the natives was to encourage their lawlessness and disrespect towards the colonists. Sir Benjamin D'Urban was recalled. Through his active sympathy with the colonists over the native question, he had gained their respect and affection. When he had first come to the country he had been prepared to pursue a conciliatory policy towards the Kaffirs, but the practical experience of the first year of his administration had taught him, that as a matter of bare justice, he must give whole-hearted support to the colonists against the "merciless barbarians".

Other causes
of discontent
among the
colonists.

English made
the official
language.

There existed further causes of discontent among the Dutch colonists. In the early days of the British administration, since nearly all the colonists were Dutch, the official documents were in Dutch. As early as 1806, for the convenience of English officials, it had been enacted that every letter and official document addressed to the Governor should be accompanied by an English translation. After the addition of the 1820 settlers to the Colony, it became necessary to provide and legislate for the English also. Lord Somerset issued a declaration that after January 1827 English alone was to be the official language of the law courts, but the Roman-Dutch law was to remain in force. After January 1825 all official documents should be issued in English. In towns like Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown where the inhabitants were mainly English, the change was a welcome and necessary one,

but it was naturally considered a great hardship in those places where Dutch was the language spoken.

In 1827 certain judicial changes took place. A Supreme Court was formed consisting of a Chief Justice and three, (afterwards two) judges, all appointed by the Crown and independent of the Governor. The lower courts were also reorganised. The landdrosts and Heemraden were replaced by resident magistrates and civil commissioners. The burgher senate was abolished. The colony was divided into two provinces Eastern and Western, the Eastern consisting of Beaufort, Graaff Reinet, Somerset, Albany, Uitenhage and George; the Western, of the Cape, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam and Worcester.

The Dutch felt that their representative institutions were all being taken away, and this fact added to their bitterness towards the Government. In consequence of numerous petitions from the colonists to the British government, it was decided in 1834 to form at the Cape a Legislative Council, to consist of not less than ten and not more than twelve members. Five were to be chosen by the government from among the most prominent settlers. This by no means satisfied the colonists, and the fact that they felt that they had not a sufficient share in the government constituted a very real grievance against their rulers.

When at length the Boer farmers set out on the Great Trek, one of their leaders, Pieter Retief, sent to "The Grahamstown Journal" the following manifesto, which sums up the causes for the emigration. It was published early in 1837.

Resident
magistrates
and civil
commissioners
take the place
of landdrosts
and
Heemraden.

The Dutch
resent the
loss of their
representative
institutions.

A Legislative
Council
formed.

The causes
of the Great
Boer Trek as
summed up in
the Manifesto
of Pieter
Retief.

"Numerous reports having been circulated throughout the colony, evidently with the intention of exciting in the minds of our countrymen a feeling of prejudice against those who have resolved to emigrate from a colony where they have experienced for so many years past a series of the most vexatious and severe losses, and as we desire to stand high in the estimation of our brethren, and are anxious that they and the world at large should believe us incapable of severing that sacred tie which binds a Chistian to his native soil, without the most sufficient reasons, we are induced to record the following summary of our motives for taking so important a step; and also our intentions respecting the native tribes which we may meet with beyond the boundary.

(1) The sufferings endured by the colonists on account of the Hottentot vagrants.

(2) The losses incurred by the colonists through the emancipation of the slaves.

(3) Suffering on account of marauding Kaffirs.

1. We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it in the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants who are allowed to infest the country in every part, nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2. We complain of severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have ever endured from the Kaffirs and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the cloak of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we quit this colony with a desire to lead a more quiet life than we have heretofore done. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7. We make known, that when we shall have formed a code of laws for our future guidance, copies shall be forwarded to the colony for general information, but we take this opportunity of stating that it is our firm resolve to make provision for the summary punishment of any traitors who may be found amongst us.

8. We purpose in the course of our journey, and on arriving in the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that

(4) The
damaging
statements
made by
missionaries
concerning the
treatment of
the natives.

the English government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now quitting the fruitful land of our birth in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are entering a wild and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing and merciful Being, whom it will be our endeavour to fear and humbly obey.

By the authority of the farmers who have quitted the Colony.

(signed) P. RETIEF.

**Another cause
of the trek.**

Besides the motives already described, the farmers who trekked were doubtless actuated by their love of wide spaces where they could extend their farm-lands undisturbed. They were accustomed to trek, partly

Land hunger.

for the sake of fresh pasturage, but also to escape the control of the government. The emigrant farmers were,

**Character of
the emigrant
farmers.**

in the words of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, "A brave, patient, industrious orderly, and religious people, the cultivators, the defenders, and the tax-contributors of the country". They set out in separate bands, varying in numbers from rather fewer than a hundred to about two hundred, men, women, and children. Each party

**The separate
bands.**

consisted of a number of families and friends drawn from the same district. The principal leaders were

Their leaders.

Louis Trichard, Gert Maritz, Pieter Retief, Jacobus Uys, and Andries Pretorius. The emigrants travelled in ox-wagons, and carried with them their household

**Their mode of
travelling.**

possessions and their farm-stock. They considered that

they were free from British rule from the moment that they crossed the Orange River. The first party to leave the colony was that led by Louis Trichard in 1833, but the main stream of emigration did not begin until early in 1836.

Trichard's party came from the Albany district, and was joined by another group under Van Rensburg. They crossed the Orange River early in 1834 and continued to trek towards the north. They made various sojournings, and did not reach the Zoutpansberg until May 1836. Here the two divisions of the party separated. Van Rensburg set out first, but with the exception of two children the whole party was massacred by natives in the valley of the Limpopo.

Trichard's party reached Delagoa Bay about the middle of 1838. They had endured many sufferings. The tsetse fly had destroyed their cattle. Most of their men had perished of fever, among them Trichard himself. In the following years the Boers of Natal, hearing of their distress, sent a boat to bring away the survivors, who were all women and children.

The second party to leave was led by Potgieter from the neighbourhood of Colesberg. Among them was Paul Kruger, then a child of ten. After crossing the Orange River they proceeded north by way of Thaba Nchu until they reached the banks of the Vet River. Here they concluded a bargain with a native chief, Makwana, and, in exchange for oxen, they received the territory which lies between the Vet and the Vaal. Potgieter's party and other similar bands of emigrants distributed themselves over the country between the

The pioneer
band under
Trichard.

Joined by
van Rensburg.

They separate
Fate of Van
Rensburg's
band.

Fate of
Trichard's
party.

The second
band of
emigrants
under
Potgieter from
Colesberg
1836.

Acquisition of
territory
between the
Vet and the
Vaal.

Description of
emigrants'
encampment
by the explorer
Harris.

Potgieter's
expedition to
the
Drakensberg.

Camp near
Kroonstad
surprised by
Matabele.

The Matabele
an offshoot of
the Zulus.

Moselekatse a
general of the
Zulu chief,
Chaka.

Orange River and the Vaal and even beyond the Vaal. An explorer who was in their neighbourhood early in 1837 describes one of the Boer encampments he saw. "Forty Dutch colonists with their kith and kin, were encamped on the banks of the Calf River. The assemblage of snow-white wagon-tilts, around which herds of oxen and droves of horses were grazing, imparted to this animated scene the appearance of a country fair. Several women, attended by their husbands, were washing linen in the river".

In the middle of the year 1836, Hendrik Potgieter set out with eleven companions, intending to explore the country as far as Delagoa Bay. In the Zoutpansberg they discovered the old encampment left by Trichard. They then turned towards the South East and crossed the western spur of the Drakensberg. They returned to their encampment near what is now Kroonstad, to find that natives had surprised and massacred many of their unfortunate comrades.

These natives were the Matabele, an offshoot of the Zulu tribe, and one of the many sections of the Bantu race, which included the Kaffirs, Fingoes, Zulus, Swazis, Basutos, and Bechuanas, all of whom were inhabitants of South Africa south of the Zambesi. About 1820 Chaka, chief of the Zulus, had founded in Natal a military power which dominated and even crushed out all the other native tribes in the neighbourhood. One of Chaka's favourite generals, Moselekatz, also known as Umsilikazi, revolted against him and led away the troops directly under his command. They crossed the Drakensberg, ravaged and depopulated the country they passed

through, and took up their abode eventually in the country between the Vaal and the Limpopo. Other native tribes in the neighbourhood of the Orange and the Drakensberg gave them the name of Matabele, which means. "Those who hide behind their shields". They called themselves Zulus or Amazulus. To their number Moselekatse added as recruits other natives whom he had taken prisoners in war. These blood-thirsty warriors butchered whole tribes and made desolate the country round them.

When Potgieter found his camp attacked by the Matabele, he formed a strong laager at the place since known as Vechtkop by drawing the wagons into a circle. The spaces between and under the wagons were filled with thorn boughs from the mimosa. There were only about forty men and boys capable of bearing arms, while the invaders numbered more than five thousand. When the Matabele rushed upon the wagons, the Boers, by continual firing, forced them back again and again. Sometimes the savages succeeded in creeping through the thorn boughs, but "before they could rise to their feet", says Willem Pretorius, one of the emigrants, "they were killed by the women with hatchets and knives". At last the enemy took to flight, carrying off with them all the cattle and sheep belonging to the encampment. "Round the camp", writes Sarel Cilliers, one of the defenders, "430 of the enemy lay dead. 1172 assegais had been thrown into the camp. The enemy then carried off all our means of sustenance. I had a wife and seven children and was without corn or millet, besides being incapacitated for hunting. I

Military
organisation of
the Matabele.

Laager defence
against the
Matabele.
Vechtkop.

The third band
of emigrants
under Maritz,
from Graaff
Reinet.

Maritz made
landdrost.

Organisation
of Boer
commando.

Attack on
Matabele
village at
Mosega.

Founding of
Winburg 1837.

Arrival of
Pieter Retief's
party, who
came from the
Winterberg.

Pieter Retief.

had to taste the cup of bitterness. My children cried from hunger and I did the same and had nothing to give them".

Potgieter's party was now joined by another band of emigrants under Maritz who came from Graaff Reinet. Together the two parties travelled to Thaba Nchu. Here a Volksraad or general assembly of seven members chose as their landdrost Gert Maritz. Maritz and Potgieter organised a commando, consisting of about a hundred Boers and in addition a hundred natives whose leader joined because he owed the Matabele a grudge. Early in 1837 these forces directed themselves against the Matabele stronghold of Mosega. They surprised it at daybreak. The Matabele fled in all directions. The Boers set fire to the kraals and captured a large number of cattle. They then re-crossed the Vaal and formed an encampment which they named Winburg in honour of the victory.

Hither Pieter Retief soon afterwards came with his party of emigrants, who had trekked from the Winterberg. The Boer emigrants were now massed at Winburg, and on June 6th 1837 a meeting was held and a new Volksraad was elected. Pieter Retief was made governor and commandant-general. It was natural that the emigrants should look to him as their head. It was he who had voiced their grievances in his famous manifesto. He had always been regarded as one of the most prominent and honourable men in the Albany district. He had occupied the position of field-commandant and had taken active part in repelling Kaffir invasions. He had protested against the native policy

pursued by Lieutenant Governor Stockenstrom and, on receiving an unfavourable reply, he had resolved to emigrate.

Maritz retained his position as landdrost and was also made President of the Volksraad, which was entrusted with making the necessary laws. Slavery was forbidden. All members of the community had to take an oath to have no connection with the London Missionary Society. The objection of the emigrants to the London Missionary Society was not to their religious influence but to the social and political principles which they advocated.

Parties of emigrants continued to arrive. The family called Uys came from the district of Uitenhage. Their journey lay through Grahamstown where the English inhabitants presented the head of the family, Jacobus Uys, who was an old man of seventy, with a large Bible as a farewell token of their regret at their departure.

The emigrants were now strong enough to muster forces once more against Moselekatse, who had in the meantime been weakened by a severe defeat at the hands of the Zulus. During the absence of Pieter Retief on a preliminary visit of inspection to Natal, the Boer force under Potgieter and Uys inflicted a heavy defeat on the Matabele and drove them beyond the Limpopo. All the territory abandoned by the Matabele, including the north of the Free State, and most of the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, was declared by a proclamation of Potgieter to belong now to the emigrants.

Unfortunately quarrels and jealousies had arisen among the Boers. When Pieter Retief had first arrived

The new
volksraad at
Winburg.

The Uys
family.

The campaign
against the
Matabele.

Acquisition by
the Boers of
the territory
abandoned by
the Matabele.

Dissensions
among the
Boers.

The
trek to Natal.

Summary of
early history
of Natal.

First
colonisation
1824.

Grant of land
by Chaka.

Chaka, the
Zulu chief.

at Winburg, he had been successful in patching up a quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz, but new dissensions soon arose and party feeling ran high. Retief in vain tried to restore good fellowship. At last a large band of emigrants put themselves under his leadership and resolved to trek into Natal.

In 1497 Natal had received its name from its Portuguese discoverers. The Dutch East India Company in the time of Simon Van der Stel had bought the coast from the natives but had made no use of it. It was not until 1823 that any idea of colonising Natal was entertained by Europeans. In this year an English naval officer, Lieutenant Farewell, visited Port Natal and reported favourably on its possibilities. In the following year an expedition was safely landed in Natal under the leadership of Farewell, King, and Fynn, and an interview was obtained with the Zulu chief, Chaka. A strip of land, extending along the coast twenty five miles to the north, ten miles to the south, and a hundred miles inland from Port Natal was granted by Chaka to Farewell, who proclaimed it British territory. Fynn received another grant of land in the south of the present colony of Natal.

The position of the adventurers in Natal was extremely perilous. Chaka was very powerful and his friendship was not to be relied upon. Captain King thus describes him. "History does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster than Chaka. His subjects fall at his nod". In his youth Chaka had given offence to his father, the ruling Zulu chief, and had been obliged to take refuge with Dingiswayo to

whom the Zulus were subordinate. Dingiswayo had begun the work of military organisation which Chaka completed when he succeeded as paramount chief. The whole tribe was divided into regiments, and formed an efficient and well-disciplined army, which proved its mettle in successful wars with other native tribes. The Zulu armies wrought desolation in all the country round, until, from St. Lucia Bay to the Umzivubu, and to the west as far as the Drakensberg, no native tribe existed that was not subject to them.

Chaka was assassinated in 1828 and was succeeded by Dingaan, his half-brother, who was just as blood-thirsty and even more treacherous. The English traders visiting Port Natal realised their insecurity, and in 1834 sent a petition to the home government, asking for "the formation of a government establishment at Port Natal with an adequate military force for the protection of the trade with that place". Their request was refused on the grounds of expense.

Missionaries arrived in Natal in 1835, and with the traders they became the pioneers in the work of settlement and civilisation. The settlers established a township which they called D'Urban after the governor of the Cape; they raised subscriptions for clearing the bush and for building a church. They named the new colony, extending from the Tugela to the Umzivubu, Victoria, and finally petitioned that they might become a colony of the British Empire. Again the home government refused.

When Pieter Retief with his small band of emigrants arrived at Port Natal in October, 1837, the English

The Zulus a great military power.

Dingaan.

Petition of English merchants refused.

Arrival of missionaries.

The new colony of Victoria projected.

Refusal of home government to bring it under the British Empire,

Welcome given to the Dutch emigrants by English residents in Natal.

Main body of emigrants trek into Natal.

Treaty with Dingaan.

Murder of Retief 1838.

Massacre of Weenen.

Death of Uys.

settlers presented him with an address of welcome. Dingaan gave audience to Retief, and promised to grant his request for land on condition that he induced a native robber-chief to restore some cattle that had been stolen from the Zulus. On Retief's return to the Boer encampment, the main body of emigrants under his command set out and crossed the Drakensberg into Natal. They scattered themselves in encampments on the south of the Tugela River, while Retief and sixty-five followers, driving before them the cattle which they had successfully recovered, proceeded to Dingaan's kraal. There, by written treaty, Dingaan ceded the land from the Tugela to the Umzivubu, parts of which Chaka and Dingaan had already granted to the English settlers. By every show of friendship Dingaan completely put the emigrants off their guard, and two days later in a final interview on February 6 1838 he treacherously caused Retief and his company to be brutally murdered. The Zulus then surprised the Boer encampments near the place since known as Weenen, or the Place of Weeping, and massacred nearly three hundred emigrants, men, women, and children. Some of the lagers were able to prepare a hasty defence and repel the Zulus.

On hearing of these disasters, Potgieter and Pieter Uys mustered a commando of three hundred and fifty men, crossed the Drakensberg, and marched against Dingaan. In an attack on a division of the Zulu army near the king's kraal Uys put the enemy to flight; but during the pursuit that followed, he and his comrades found themselves in an ambush. Pieter Uys was

mortally wounded, and his brave son, a boy of fifteen, turned back to his assistance and died defending him. A force of Englishmen was also cut to pieces by the Zulus near the Tugela, though the enemy suffered severely; and the English residents in Durban found it necessary to withdraw, some to one of the neighbouring islands, others to seek shelter on board a ship in the harbour. Soon after this, on account of fresh feuds between the Boers, Potgieter and his followers trekked to the north of the Vaal, where Potchefstroom was founded in 1839.

Towards the end of the year, a new party of emigrants from Graaff Reinet arrived under Andries Pretorius, a farmer of great repute and strength of purpose. The Boers of Natal elected him Commandant-General. He welded together a strong force consisting of men who, in the words of Dr. Theal, "were imbued with the same spirit as the Ironsides of Cromwell". At day-break on December 16th 1838, still known as Dingaan's Day, a Zulu impi of 12000 men attacked the Boer lager which had been formed on the banks of the river afterwards called the Blood River. Through the bold and skilful generalship of Pretorius, the Zulus were utterly routed and put to flight. No fewer than three thousand of the enemy perished, while no Boer was killed and only three were wounded. Pretorius next set out for Dingaan's kraal which he found deserted and in flames. Dingaan eluded the Boers, and afterwards offered terms of peace which they, having had experience of his treachery, refused to accept. Later on, Panda, Dingaan's half-brother, deserted him and assisted the Boers

Defeat of the English at the Tugela.

Potgieter treks north of the Vaal.

Potchef-stroom founded 1839.

Arrival of emigrants from Graaff Reinet under Pretorius.

Battle of the Blood River.

Fate of Dingaan.

Panda made
king of the
Zulus.

The
Association of
South African
emigrants.

against him. Dingaan was defeated by Panda and fled to the land of the Swazis where he was murdered. Pretorius proclaimed Panda king of the Zulus, north of the Tugela River. The Zulu king was to be subject to the emigrant Boers, whose territory now extended from St. Lucia Bay to the Umzimvubu River.

The few remaining English traders had ceded their rights to the Boers who, before the arrival of Pretorius, had taken possession of Port Natal in the name of "The Association of the South African Emigrants".

CHAPTER VII.

NATAL. THE FREE STATE. THE TRANSVAAL.

The Imperial Government was at first in doubt how to act towards the new Dutch republic. Lord Glenelg was of opinion that any extension of territory was a mistake because it meant an extension of responsibility, heavy military expenditure, besides involving injustice towards the native tribes. On the other hand, it was represented that to avoid interference meant subjecting the natives to the Dutch farmers, and the British government could not look with indifference upon the establishment of an independent and possibly hostile republic upon the coast, with a harbour which might give access to the interior to some foreign and rival power. Without waiting for instructions from England, Major General Napier, the governor of Cape Colony at this time, on his own responsibility, sent a body of troops to close the harbour of Natal. He announced that the occupation of Port Natal was a temporary and purely military occupation, not involving any annexation to the British Empire. (November, 1838.)

In March 1839 Pietermaritzburg was established. There, from this time onward, the Volksraad met. It consisted of twenty-four members elected annually,

Attitude of the
Imperial
Government.

Glenelg's view.

Military
occupation of
Port Natal
Nov. 1838.

Pieter-
Maritzburg.
established
1839.

Withdrawal of English troops from Natal.

The Republic of Natal.

System of government.

Negotiations with the Governor for the recognition of its independence

and it exercised supreme legislative power. It appointed all officials including the commandant-general. At this point the Imperial government stepped in. The Marquis of Normanby succeeded Lord Glenelg as Secretary of State for the colonies and wrote to Governor Napier in 1839, approving the temporary occupation of Port Natal, but announcing that he concurred "to the fullest extent in the views of his immediate predecessor, as to the impolicy of extending the dominions of the British Crown in Southern Africa". The Governor thereupon felt that the further retention of the port was useless, and he withdrew the troops at the end of the same year. This made the Dutch farmers conclude that the Imperial Government had abandoned its claim to their allegiance.

The Republic of Natal was divided into three districts, Pietermartizburg, Weenen, and Port Natal, and a loose kind of alliance existed between the Volksraad of Natal and the emigrants under Potgieter west of the Drakensberg who were under the rule of a subordinate Volksraad, claiming authority over the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom. Under the article of union, the Volksraad at Maritzburg was supreme, but the other Volksraad had independent control in local matters over its own districts, and in addition, had the right of sitting with the Volksraad at Maritzburg when important subjects of common interest were discussed. When the constitution had thus been settled, the Volksraad of Natal thought it wise to enter into negotiations with the Governor of the Cape, in order to obtain a formal recognition of their independence. But at this

time, a powerful association formed in London, supported by an influential party in South Africa and by Sir George Napier himself, was bringing pressure to bear upon the home government to take possession of Natal for the purpose of colonisation. In June 1840 therefore, the Governor was instructed by the British ministry to resume occupation of the port of Natal. At the same time, it was intimated that the government was not prepared to incur the expense of conquering the territory from the emigrant farmers. The Governor therefore was to conciliate them by appointing from among them a President and Council to carry on the government. When this despatch arrived, however, the Governor was unable to withdraw any troops from the eastern frontier of the colony owing to the dangerous state of affairs there, and he was compelled to delay action for the time being.

Some three months after this, Sir George Napier received a message from the Volksraad at Maritzburg, asking for an acknowledgement of their independence, with the rights of British subjects. To gain time the Governor wrote asking for details of the terms of the proposed treaty. These were drawn up and agreed to by the majority of the Volksraad in January 1841, and communicated to the Governor. While these negotiations were going on the farmers damaged their case by an unwarrantable interference with the tribe of the Pondos, who inhabited under their chief, Faku, the valley of the Umzimvubu River. About this time a number of cattle had been stolen from various farmers in Natal. The thefts had been traced to the Bushmen,

Despatch of
1840.

Napier's reply
to the
Volksraad.

Trouble with
the Pondos.

but it had also been discovered that a tribe called the Bacas, under a chief who was at enmity with Faku, was also involved in the robberies. The Bacas were thereupon attacked by the farmers. Many of them were killed and a large number of cattle and sheep belonging to them were appropriated.

Faku was at first pleased on hearing of his enemy's loss, but he was afraid that at some future date the same treatment would be applied to himself. His fears were confirmed by the action of the Volksraad in locating a large number of natives in his territory in 1841. On the advice of the missionaries, by whom he was entirely guided, he sent a letter to Sir George Napier, saying that he was in great fear of the emigrant farmers, and asking to be taken under his protection. This convinced Sir George Napier that the treatment of the natives by the farmers would push the Bantu tribes down upon the Cape colony and lead to future trouble. He therefore sent troops to garrison a post in Faku's country, to prevent further disturbances. At the same time he wrote to the Volksraad refusing to enter into any negotiations with them until they declared their willingness "to obey the lawful authority of the British Government". The farmers replied, declining to be considered British subjects, and refusing to receive a military force such as the Governor had suggested in a subsequent despatch.

At the same time another incident occurred which showed the need for British interference. In August 1841 an American ship put in at Port Natal for purpose of trade. This showed the danger of having

The Pondos
appeal to the
Governor for
protection.

Napier's
negotiations
with the
Volksraad.

Danger to
commerce.

a port in Natal, an independent republic, through which the commerce of the interior might pass, and it roused great anxiety and many protests among the merchants of the Cape Colony. The governor then issued a proclamation to the effect that in consequence of the encroachment of the farmers upon part of the territories of Faku, he intended to resume military occupation of Port Natal. The Volksraad intimated that they were not prepared to acquiesce in the Governor's decision and that they would resist any attempt to occupy their country. They were encouraged in this attitude by the arrival of a Dutch ship the *Brazilia* in March 1842, and persuaded themselves that the Government of the Netherlands would aid them in their resistance. Attempts were also made to procure help from the burghers of Potchefstroom and Winburg, but Potgieter refused to interfere.

The English force under Captain Smith marched to attack the burghers of Pietermaritzburg and Weenen at Kongela, but was surprised, defeated with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat. Richard King undertook to ride to Grahamstown with news of the disaster, and in spite of great difficulty and danger accomplished 600 miles in 10 days. Captain Smith took up an entrenched position and resolved to defend himself to the uttermost. When his force was in the last stages of distress through famine, the relieving party arrived under Colonel Cloete, and the farmers were compelled to retire to Matitzburg, where terms were arranged by Colonel Cloete. The farmers agreed to release all prisoners, give up all cannon and ammunition, and restore

The Governor's decision.

Arrival of a Dutch ship.

Defeat of the English force at Kongela.

Dick King's Ride.

Arrival of the relieving force.

Agreement between Col. Cloete and the Volksraad.

all public and private property they had seized. The Volksraad also agreed to declare their submission to the authority of the Queen. Colonel Cloete then returned to Cape Town and left Major Smith in command of the garrison.

After some further negotiations with the home government Sir George Napier announced by proclamation that the district of Port Natal "would be recognised and adopted by the Queen as a British Colony". At the same time the Government of the Netherlands disclaimed all connections with the emigrant farmers and assured the British representative at the Hague that it had no intention of interfering. When Mr. Cloete reached Maritzburg as commissioner to carry out the new settlement, he found everything in a state of complete confusion. "There was hardly one", says Theal "who had been in office but who candidly admitted that the Republic of Natal was a failure". Cloete found, however, the greatest difficulty in winning over the Volksraad, but eventually after a long discussion, they agreed to submit. They desired that there should be a Legislative Council of twelve members, elected by the burghers for two years, and that the laws should be those of the Cape Colony. The boundaries separating Zulu land from Natal were then fixed by an agreement between Mr. Cloete and the Zulu chief Panda, and the arrangement making the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers the northern boundaries of Natal, and the line of the Drakensberg the inland boundary, was confirmed by the Secretary of State. Zululand to the north of the Tugela was recognised to be under the inde-

Natal
proclaimed a
British colony

Disordered
condition of
the Republic.

Submission of
the Volksraad.

Boundaries
settled.

pendent rule of Panda. All the territory south of the Umzimkulu was to be surrendered to Faku, the Pondo chief. This agreement was signed by the Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland in 1844. The greater part of the Boer population then trekked from Natal back out the Drakensberg.

The next step was to settle the form of government of Natal. It was to be a dependency of the Cape, while remaining separate for judicial, financial, and executive purposes. The Governor of the Cape was also to be the Governor of Natal, and all communications were to be made through him, but a separate lieutenant-governor was to be appointed. He was to be aided by an Executive Council of not more than five members, with power to recommend such laws as it might think necessary.

While these events were taking place in Natal, the other emigrant farmers were establishing various settlements between the Orange and the Vaal and between the Vaal and the Limpopo. The two earliest, as we have seen, were Winburg, founded in 1837, and Potchefstroom founded in 1839. Commandant Potgieter was the commandant-general. Quarrels now broke out, which compelled Potgieter to leave Potchefstroom and trek further north, toward Delagoa Bay. The village of Lydenburg was founded in 1846. Potgieter and his party then moved still further north and settled in the Zoutpansberg district about this time. Another settlement, Rustenburg, or Village of Rest was founded in 1850 by the Boer farmers who left Natal after it became a British colony. It was the centre for a dis-

Terms of
government
settled.

Settlement of
the emigrant
farmers north
of the Orange.

Winburg 1837

Potchefstroom
1839.

Potgieter's
treks.

Lydenburg
1846.

Zoutpansberg.
Rustenburg
1850.

Pretoria
founded 1855.

district stretching to the north of the Witwatersrand. Pretoria was not founded till 1855. In all these treks Hendrik Potgieter took the leading part, and was, says the traveller Delagorgue, then considered the most important man in the country. He seems however to have been of a very quarrelsome disposition, and this probably accounts for his constant wanderings between 1837 and 1848.

Intervention
of the British
Government
and its causes.

The Griquas.

Griquatown
and Philipolis.

Treaties of
alliance with
the
Government
1843.

Griqualand
East and
Griqualand
West.

The intervention of the British government in the affairs of these districts was caused by the quarrels of the emigrant farmers with the natives called the Griquas. Under this name was included a people of mixed blood, partly Dutch, partly Hottentot, which towards the end of the eighteenth century had been forced out of the Cape Colony into the territory north of the Orange. Their total number was estimated by the traveller Thompson, in 1824, at between four and five thousand. The London Missionary Society took an interest in them, and founded several mission stations in the various Griqua villages such as Griquatown and Philipolis. This brought them to the favourable notice of the Governor at the Cape, and treaties of alliance were made with the two groups of Griquas under Adam Kok and Waterboer. By these they were given the advantage of British alliance and protection, and recognised as rulers of the border territory north of the Orange River.

In 1838 Adam Kok and Waterboer had made a treaty by which they fixed the boundaries between their respective territories, and Waterboer's land afterwards came to be known as Griqualand West, while Adam Kok's became Griqualand East.

To the east of Adam Kok's territory lived the Basutos under their chief Moshesh. The Basuto power had been formed out of the remnants of tribes which had been broken by the Zulus under Chaka and Dingaan. Moshesh had established himself in the unfrequentable mountain stronghold of Thaba Bosigo, which was proof against all invaders. Every day refugees came to put themselves under his protection. Moshesh showed favour to the missionaries and borrowed a great many ideas from them. He had some genius for statesmanship and realised the value of civilisation. In a short time he had welded a strong nation under his rule. In 1843 the Basutos were taken under British protection by a treaty made with Moshesh. These treaties with the Griquas and the Basutos were very much resented by the trekkers, and quarrels began to break out between the Griquas and the farmers. The Griquas complained of ill treatment, the farmers of robberies alleged to have been committed by the Griquas.

A small force was sent up from Cape Town, and in a skirmish which took place at Zwartkopjes the farmers were compelled to disperse. The Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then divided Adam Kok's territory into two parts. One part was given over to the Griquas as their own territory, and the other was to be open to settlers, and ruled by a British Resident, whose head-quarters were to be at Bloemfontein which was then a farm. This occurred in 1845.

In 1847 Sir Harry Smith was sent out as Governor, with the intention of conciliating the Dutch. He was a deeply religious man and much in sympathy with

Moshesh and
the Basutos.

Thaba Bosigo.

Character of
Moshesh.

Treaty with
the British.

Quarrels break
out between
the Griquas
and the Boers.

Zwartkopjes
1845.

Division of the
Griquas'
territory.

Bloemfontein
founded 1845.

Sir Harry
Smith
1847—'52.

His visit to the Orange River Territory and Natal 1848.

Grievances of the Boer farmers in Natal.

British sovereignty proclaimed over the territory between the Orange and the Vaal 1848.

Rising of the Boers under Pretorius.

the Boers with whom he was very popular. Immediately on his arrival he visited the Orange River territories and Natal. He interviewed Adam Kok and came to an agreement with him in Jan. 1848. A similar agreement was then made with Moshesh. He then went to Natal to attempt to stop the farmers from trekking. An interview was held with the Boers under Pretorius on the Tugela, where they stated their complaints. They had two main grievances, the influx of 'blacks' that had been permitted by the Government and the difficulty they had in getting land. The Governor appointed a Land Commission to secure farms for the settlers. His efforts were so successful that many of the farmers agreed to remain in the district and many of those who had left it were induced to return. He then proceeded to the Orange River, where he found as he thought a strong party among the Dutch in favour of being put under British protection. In 1848, accordingly, he proclaimed the establishment of British sovereignty over the territory between the Orange and the Vaal, and put the whole of that country in the charge of the British Resident at Bloemfontein, assisted by two Commissioners.

In doing this he believed he was acting in sympathy with the views of Pretorius and the farmers. But the farmers deeply resented his action and began to take up arms. Pretorius put himself at the head of the rising. To deal with it a body of troops had to be sent up from Cape Town. The rising was not a general one, since a great many of the Dutch joined the English in opposition to Pretorius and his party. A skirmish

took place at Boomplaats where the Boers were defeated. This ended the resistance. Pretorius and his followers fled over the Vaal. Bloemfontein was strongly garrisoned and became the capital of the newly-acquired territory. The form of government was proclaimed in 1849. Two burgher members from each of the four districts, together with the British Resident and the four magistrates, formed the Legislative Council. This was the first constitution given to the Orange River sovereignty. Many immigrants came in from the Cape Colony. Villages suddenly sprang up, and the waste land began to be put under cultivation.

The usual troubles with the natives soon began to disturb the new settlement. There were various Bechuanas tribes on the borders of Kaffraria who were at constant war with the Basutos, and as a result the whole country was in a state of great insecurity and disorder. To put an end to this state of affairs, the Resident collected a small force, quite inadequate for the purpose, which was defeated in a conflict with the Basutos at Viervoet in June 1851, and the Resident was driven back. This defeat came at a very inopportune time, since the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, was then engaged in the Kaffir War of 1850—53 and unable to send help. Nothing therefore could be done to retrieve the disaster. The British Government had annexed the territory with extreme reluctance. They now began to ask whether it was worth while keeping it, since it could only be a source of expense and trouble. Lord Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent a despatch saying that if the majority of the inhabi-

Boomplaats
1848.

Defeat of the
Boers.

Form of
government
settled.

Emigration
from the
Cape Colony.

Troubles with
the natives.

The
Bechuana
and Basutos.

Viervoet 1851.

Change in
British policy.

Return of
Pretorius.

The
Commissioner
Hogg and
Owen.

Recommendations
of the
Commissioners.

Sand River
Convention
Jan: 1852.

Its effect in the
Orange River
territory.

Recall of Sir
Harry Smith.

tants did not support the Resident he would have to be withdrawn. Those of the Boers in the Orange River Sovereignty who were opposed to the English domination took advantage of the difficulties of the Resident, Major Warden. Pretorius who had fled across the Vaal after the battle of Boomplats, was invited back and appointed administrator. Moshesh also saw his opportunity and concluded an alliance with the Boers.

Faced with this danger the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Grey, without consulting the Governor Sir Harry Smith, appointed two Commissioners, Hogg and Owen to make a report. After taking stock of the situation they recommended the granting of independence to the Boers of the Transvaal. It would, they argued, separate their interests from those of the Boers of the Orange River; it would prevent their alliance with Moshesh, which was a serious menace to the English, and the interests of the natives would be safeguarded because the Boers were willing to promise the forbidding of slavery and the expulsion of criminals from their territory. A conference was accordingly held with Pretorius and his party at the Sand River in 1852, and the independence of the Transvaal Boers was recognised by the Sand River Convention, the British Government granting them in the most complete manner the right of managing their own affairs, under the conditions with regard to slavery and criminals already mentioned.

This decision was bound to affect the course of events in the Orange River Territory, and to make the farmers there eager for the same recognition. Their hopes were further raised by the recall of Sir Harry Smith in January

1852. Sir George Cathcart was appointed Governor in his place. It was Moshesh again who brought matters to a crisis. Compensation was demanded from him for certain robberies that he had committed. He failed to reply, and General Cathcart judged that a display of force was necessary. Accordingly he moved up a force of some 2500 men towards the Basutoland border. His object was to attack Moshesh's stronghold Thaba Bosigo. But his plans somehow miscarried and at the battle on the Berea Mountain he suffered a severe check. After the battle Moshesh, with great diplomacy, sued for peace. Cathcart agreed to his request and ordered a retreat. He then wrote to the British Government to the effect that it would be necessary either to maintain a strong force in the country or abandon it altogether.

The ministry, harassed at that time by the Kaffir war, were inclined to choose the latter course. A special commissioner, Sir John Clerk, was sent out to report and make recommendations. He decided for abandonment. At the Convention held at Bloemfontein in Feb. 1854 the independence of the Orange River territory was fully recognised, with the same condition regarding the prohibition of slavery which had been stipulated at the previous Sand River Convention. The policy thus adopted was one of very doubtful wisdom. It was opposed by many in the Orange River State itself, Dutch as well as English, who feared the power of Moshesh. It was carried out in opposition to the wishes of the Orange River delegates whom Sir George Clerk had called together for advice.

Various petitions against it were also sent from the

War with
Moshesh.

Cathcart
checked.

Peace made
with Moshesh.

Sir John Clerk.

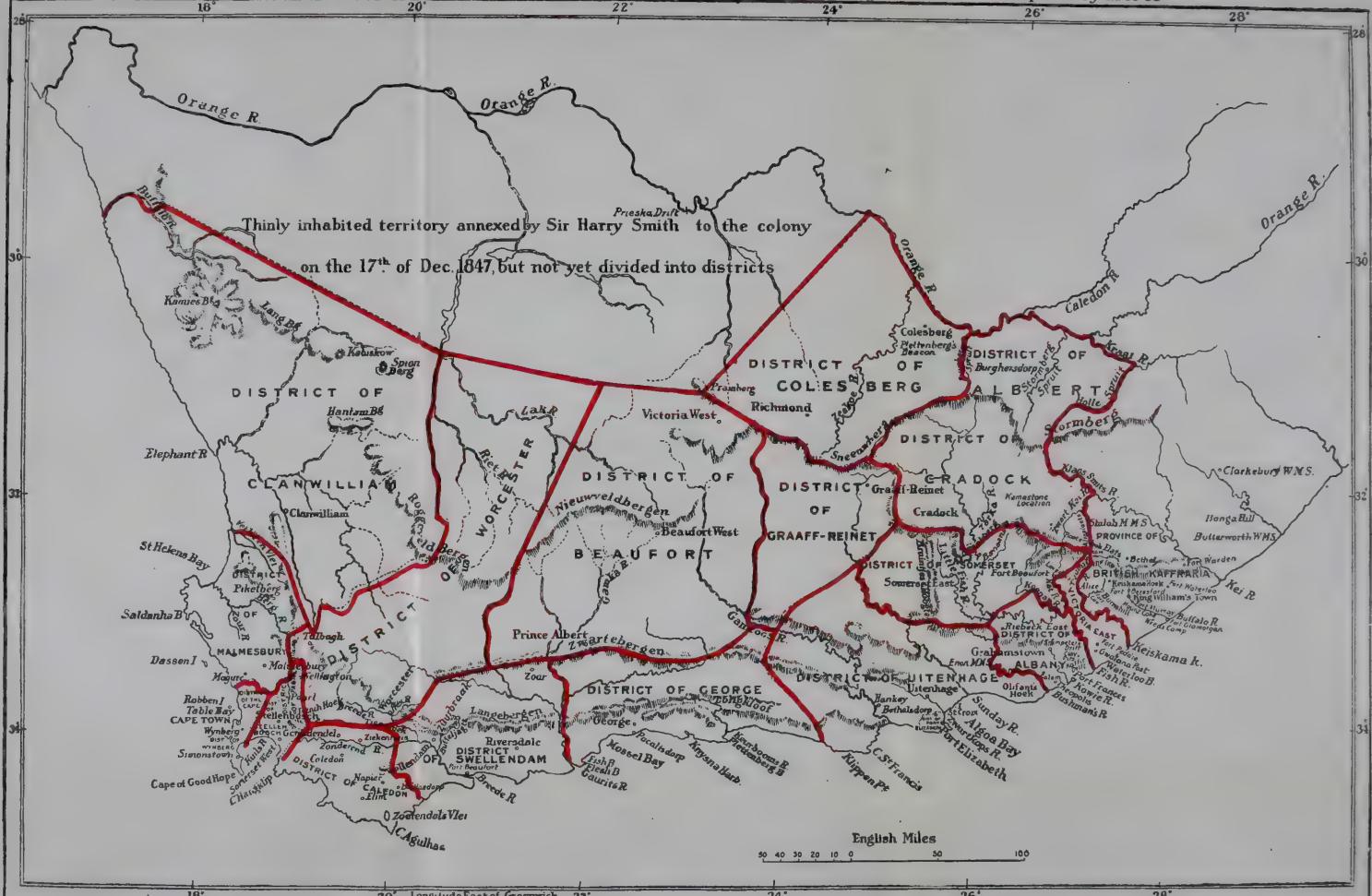
Convention of
Bloemfontein
Feb. 1854.

Policy of
abandonment
criticised.

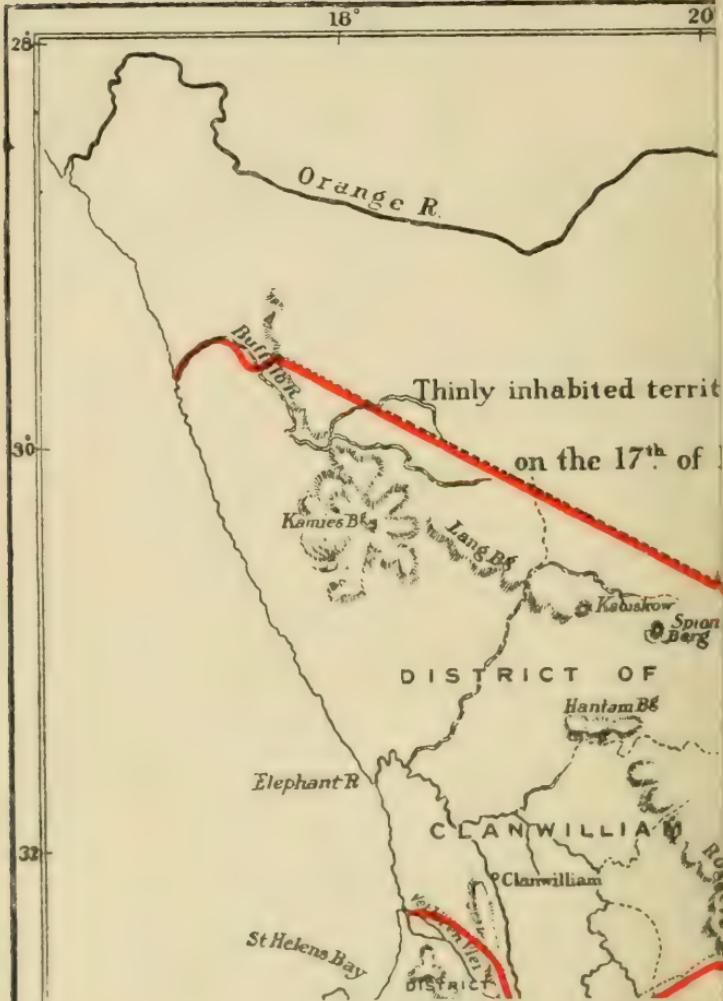
Sir Harry
Smith's
prophecy.

Cape Colony. The prophecy of Sir Harry Smith made in a letter to the Commissioners Hogg and Owen, remains the final judgment on the matter. He said: "If Her Majesty's sovereignty over this territory were now rescinded, the step would be regarded by every man of colour in South Africa as an unprecedented and unlooked for victory to his race, and be the signal of revolt or continued resistance to British authority from Cape Town to the Great Lakes.... It would, at the same time, be not only disastrous to the parties now dissatisfied, but would sacrifice to the vengeance of the disaffected those who have remained loyal and faithful".

This map shows the province of British Kaffraria and the extent and divisions of the Cape Colony in 1848



This map shows



CHAPTER VIII.

THE GROWTH OF THE CAPE 1834—1872.

While these events were happening in the Transvaal and the Orange River territory, affairs at the Cape were causing a good deal of anxiety to the British Government. Two things are chiefly important in the history of the Cape during this period, (1) the grant of representative Government, (2) the extension of the Colony resulting from the frontier Wars with the Kaffirs.

Two
important
points.

After the recall of Sir Benjamin D'Urban a new frontier policy had been adopted of making treaties with the native chiefs. This proved quite useless and merely led to a continuation of the Kaffir raids. A dispute arose in 1846 over a certain Kaffir who stole an axe. He was sent to Grahamstown for trial, but on the way the guard escorting him was attacked by the Kaffirs and overpowered, the prisoner making his escape. The Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland demanded that those who had taken part in the disturbance should be given up. This demand was refused, and its refusal led to the Seventh Kaffir War usually known as the "war of the Axe", which lasted from 1846 to 1847. The war was very badly managed by the Government of the Cape. The Gaikas under their chief Sandile took the principal part in it. Heavy losses were sustained, and

Failure of the
native treaty
policy.

The "war of
the Axe"
1846—'47.

Cause of the
war.

Sandile and
the Gaikas.

Alteration of
the boundary.

British
Kaffraria.

King
Williamstown
and
East London.

Period of
peace.

Eight Kaffir
war.

Boomah pass.

Difficult
nature of the
war.

finally, when the frontier districts had been completely devastated, and no more cattle remained to plunder, the Kaffirs asked for peace. The new Governor, Sir Harry Smith, came out in December 1847, when the war was practically over.

At the conclusion of peace a considerable extension was made to the boundaries of Cape Colony. The frontier was moved from the Fish River to the Keiskamma, and the district between the Keiskamma and the Kei was formed into a dependency called British Kaffraria, to be ruled by a High Commissioner apart from the Cape Colony.

The Kosas and the Galekas were located in the country beyond the Kei. A strong garrison was stationed in British Kaffraria, and King Williamstown became the head quarters of the troops. This marks the beginning of the growth of East London which was the port for King Williamstown. The policy of making treaties with the native chiefs was then definitely abandoned.

Then followed a period of peace for two or three years. But in 1850 the eighth Kaffir War broke out. Sandile was again the leader. The raids on the frontier became so serious that Sandile was defeated by the Governor and additional troops had to be sent up to garrison the country. Unfortunately this force suffered a severe check at the battle in the rugged and narrow defile known as Boomah pass. This victory encouraged the Kaffirs to continue the war which lasted for three years till 1853. This war was on a larger scale than the former one, and it was made more difficult because of the rising of the Hottentots of the Kat River, and the fact that the burgher commandos, who were

getting tired of these perpetually recurring Kaffir wars, refused to give sufficient help. It was found necessary to call out the burghers of the Western Province and to procure reinforcements from England. The troopship "Birkenhead", which was bringing out some of these troops, was lost at sea near Simon's Bay and 491 men were drowned. Before the war was finished it had cost the British Government upwards of £2,000,000 and the lives of some four to five hundred soldiers, besides bringing ruin upon hundreds of colonists.

It was at this time that the retrocession of the Orange River State was being considered, and the expense and difficulty involved by the war had a great deal to do with the decision of the British Government to give up possession of the Orange River territory. At the same time Sir Harry Smith was recalled, partly because of his ill-success in the war, but mainly because he was opposed to Britain receding from the responsibilities she had undertaken in connection with the territory beyond the Orange. General Cathcart succeeded him in 1852, and the settlement after the war was made by him. The land of the Gaikas — the Amatola district — which had been the chief seat of the war, was now put under military control. The power of the Gaika tribe was broken, since they lost most of their cattle and a large portion of their land—all the rich valley of the Amatola. North of the Amatola district in a part of the country formerly under British Kaffaria, a district was thrown open to Dutch and English settlers. This territory, taken from the Tembus, received the name of the division of Queenstown.

Loss of the Birkenhead.

Its effect on the policy of the British Government.

Recall of Sir Harry Smith.

Settlement made by General Cathcart.

Settlement of Queenstown.

New native policy started by Sir George Grey.

Kaffirs taught to work.

Military settlements.

The cattle killing.

Weakening of the Kaffir clans.

Sir George Cathcart retired in 1854 and Sir George Grey succeeded him. A new native policy was now tried. There were two leading principles involved in it. One was to utilise the activity of Kaffirs in productive employment, in agricultural work and the making of roads. The second was the planting of military settlers, partly with the idea of increasing the white population, but mainly for the military defence of the frontier. Sir George Grey also encouraged the missionaries to start industrial schools, such as Lovedale, to train the natives. His object was to induce the Kaffirs to give up fighting by teaching them the value of labour. Free medical advice was also given with the idea of breaking down the power of the witch doctors. Grey scarcely had time to put his new ideas into practice when the disastrous episode known as the cattle-killing took place.

In 1854-56 there was a great epidemic of cattle disease on the frontier. Thousands of cattle died and the Kaffirs suffered serious losses. But a prophet arose among the Kaffir tribes who told them that the old chiefs were coming back and were bringing with them a new breed of cattle which were proof against all pestilence. Before this could happen however, they had to kill all their existing cattle and destroy all their corn. The bulk of the Xosas and the Galekas believed him, as well as a large number of the natives in British Kaffraria. The day fixed for the miracle to take place was Feb. 18th, 1857. When that date passed and nothing happened, the natives, of course, were left starving. About 70,000 of them died of hunger,

and another 100,000 had to trek to new territory. Before the cattle slaying took place there had been some 150,000 natives in British Kaffraria alone. Afterwards there were only 37,000 left. Beyond the Kei it is impossible to estimate the numbers that must have died through starvation. In Sandile's land the Gaikas were practically exterminated, being reduced from 31,000 to less than 4000.

A serious problem was also created for the Cape Colony, as the Kaffirs came flocking in over the frontier in thousands. Extensive relief works had to be opened, and the police force had to be greatly strengthened. The Governor was afraid that the Galekas might rise, since the forces in the colony had been greatly diminished on account of the Indian Mutiny, which was taking place just at that time. A small force was sent against them, which drove them north to the country behind the Bashee River. This involved another alteration of the frontier. The land between the Kei and the Bashee was made neutral territory. Locations of military colonists were established on the frontier districts to prevent a recurrence of the Kaffir wars. The idea of establishing military villages was not a new one. As early as 1854 Sir George Grey had urged the Government to send out army pensioners and give them allotments of land on the frontier. Just before the cattle-killing took place a contingent of soldiers of the German legion had been settled in British Kaffraria, to guard the country. The time was favourable for such a scheme. The Crimean war was coming to an end, and it was easy to procure this class of emigrants.

Campaigns
against the
Galekas.

Its results.

The settlement
of the soldiers
of the German
Legion.

The British Government had employed some 10,000 German troops in the Crimean war. About three thousand of them, including women and children, on the invitation of the British Government, offered to go out to South Africa as emigrants. They were to be liable to military service for seven years, and for the first three were to receive a daily rate of pay. Allotments of land were given to them rent free. These German settlers arrived in 1857 and were distributed throughout British Kaffraria to hold the military posts. The scheme was not wholly successful. Many who were sent out proved restless and unsatisfactory, and at the close of the war 1000 of them were drafted on to India. Many of the more steady and industrious remained and did a great deal to strengthen the white population on the frontier. At the close of the Galeka campaign a second migration of German settlers, this time of the agricultural class, took place. They landed at the end of the year 1858 and were allotted lands, some in British Kaffraria, and others on the Cape Colony side of the Keiskamma.

Second
emigration of
German
settlers.

Long period
of peace.

Galekas
allowed to
return 1865.

For a long period after this the colony was free from Kaffir wars. This was largely due to the weakening of the various clans as a result of the cattle killing in 1857. It appeared as if the frontier difficulty had at last been successfully solved. The government thought it safe to allow the Galekas to return in 1865 to the Transkei, and 40,000 Fingoes — a tribe always hostile to the Galekas and loyal to the government — were also brought in to counterbalance them. This policy proved to be a mistake. The Galekas became a strong

fighting clan again and began to quarrel with the Fingoes and to raid the frontier. Their chief Kreli was ambitious to recover the land that had been lost. This caused the last Kaffir War from 1877 to '78. Sir Bartle Frere the High Commissioner proclaimed Kreli to be deposed and annexed the land which he had occupied. Kreli became a fugitive, and with his defeat the long series of Kaffir wars which had so sorely tried the patience of the British Government came at last to an end.

In 1833 as we have seen, a Legislative Council had been appointed to control the arbitrary power of the Governor. But there was no representative government, since the members of the Council were chosen by the Governor. Canada however had been given representative government and it was only a matter of time till the same policy would be adopted at the Cape. A start was very wisely made in local affairs in order to give the Colony some preliminary experience in self-government. With this object, the Municipal Council Ordinance was issued in 1836. It provided for the establishment of elected representative Councils in the Cape Colony. Cape Town was at first excluded but four years later it became a self-governing municipality. The experiment was so successful that a petition was sent from the inhabitants of Cape Town, asking for a representative assembly in 1841.

In 1843 a further step was taken in the same direction. The Road Boards Ordinance of that year created Divisional Councils in the country districts, in which the members were to be elected every three years by the

The last Kaffir war 1877-'78

Kreli deposed.

The Legislative Council of 1833.

Self government first tried in local affairs.

Municipal Councils Ordinance 1863.

Road Boards Ordinance 1843.

Lord Stanley
opposed to
granting
representative
government.

His reasons.

Taken up by
Lord Grey
in 1846.

Speech of
Lord John
Russell.

Comparison of
conditions in
Canada and
Australia.

property owners. Their duties were to look after the roads and to levy rates for local purposes. The movement towards representative government was strongly supported by the Governor Napier. Lord Stanley was then Colonial Secretary, and he was doubtful of the wisdom of such a policy. He wrote a despatch in which he pointed out what he considered to be two great objections. One was the difficulty and the expense of communication between Cape Town and the country districts, and the other was the existence of the native question. He expressed his fears that an elective assembly might not deal sympathetically enough with the natives.

There the matter rested for the next four years. It was taken up again by Lord Grey in 1846. At that time a strong society had been formed in England for the reform of colonial government with the idea of lifting the burden from the shoulders of England. In 1850, the Premier Lord John Russell made a very important speech on the subject in the House of Commons, in which he said that the time had come when the Colonies should be entrusted with the management of their own affairs. The question involved not merely the Cape, but Australia and Canada as well. In many respects, however, the question at the Cape involved greater difficulties than in either Canada or Australia. In Canada there was the racial question — the English and the French — but the native question was unimportant. In Australia, there was no racial question and no difficulty with regard to the natives. In addition to the greater complexity of the conditions in South Africa, there was a wide difference of opinion existing

in the Cape Colony itself. A serious jealousy existed between the Eastern and the Western provinces, the former demanding a separate legislature of their own.

While the matter was thus being debated in the Colony, an event occurred which gave a great impetus to the movement. This was the Anti-Convict agitation which began in 1848. Australia had been for a long time the principal convict station, but now Australia began to refuse to take any more convicts. The home government then thought of sending them out to the Cape. Until this time no convicts had ever been sent to the Cape, though its own convicts had been employed by the rural councils to work on the construction of new roads. There existed a strong feeling in the Cape against imported convicts, mainly on the ground of the injurious effects they would have upon the character of the population, but no representative assembly existed through which they could give effect to their opinions. As early as 1841 the British government had proposed to send convicts to Robben Island but had been strongly dissuaded by the Governor, and the project was abandoned for the time. It was revived in 1848, when Lord Grey proposed to send out ticket-of-leave men who had behaved well and got their discharge. To avoid the unpopular name of convicts, he proposed to call them 'exiles'.

An ordinance was therefore passed, making the Cape an authorised penal settlement. A ship called the "Neptune" was despatched to take these exiles to their destination. The bulk of them were not criminals in the ordinary sense, but political agitators who had got into

Jealousy
between the
Eastern and
Western
Province.

Stimulus given
by the
Anti-Convict
agitation.

Strong feeling
against
convicts.

First proposal
1841.

Lord Grey's
proposal in
1848.

The Neptune.

Indignation at
the Cape.

trouble through the Irish difficulties, or soldiers who had been courtmartialled for offences against military discipline. Even in this modified form, however, the proposal roused a great feeling of indignation in the Cape. The colonists were particularly angry because they were then agitating for representative government, and a policy was now being forced upon them against which they had no constitutional means of protesting. Crowds of petitions were sent to the home government condemning the proposal, the English and the Dutch for the first time acting whole-heartedly together.

Petitions
against the
convicts.

Arrival of the
Neptune.

Action of the
Governor.

The order
withdrawn.

Discussions on
representative
government.

In spite of this universal expression of opinion, the Neptune left England and anchored in Simon's Bay in September 1849. The colonists resolved to boycott everyone who had anything to do with the convicts. This put the Governor Sir Harry Smith in a very awkward position. He was personally in sympathy with the colonists, but he had to carry out his instructions. He finally determined not to allow the convicts to land until a reply to the colonists' petitions had been received from the Home government. In February, 1850, a despatch arrived from the Colonial Secretary, ordering the exiles, to be sent on to Van Diemen's Land. The news was received with the greatest rejoicings at the Cape, and did a great deal to help on the movement towards representative government, which was finally granted in 1853, the first Parliament meeting in 1854.

During the three years from 1850 to 1853 there were great discussions as to the form which representative government should take. It was finally resolved not to separate the Eastern and the Western provinces, but to

create one legislature for the whole colony similar to those which existed in Canada and Australia. It was to consist of three estates, the Governor, an Upper House, to be called the Legislative Council, and a lower House to be known as the House of Assembly. There was considerable difference of opinion however, as to whether the Legislative Council should be elected or nominated. It was finally decided to make it elective.

The question of the franchise also raised considerable difficulties. A strong agitation was got up among the wealthier classes for a restricted franchise, mainly with the idea of excluding the coloured races. This was not approved of by the home government and the franchise was fixed on a very liberal basis. No distinction was made between native and white. Responsible government was withheld for the time being since it was felt that a preliminary training in self-government was necessary. The Cabinet ministers were therefore made independent of the assembly, which had however complete control of the legislation. This was only a temporary expedient. As in the case of Canada, it resulted in constant friction between the executive and the legislature chiefly in connection with financial matters. There was a strong party in the Cape opposed to responsible government from the fear that it would involve the withdrawal of British protection and leave the Colony exposed to the serious danger and expense of the ever-recurring native wars. On account of these reasons the grant of responsible government was delayed until 1872.

The
constitution of
1853.

Franchise
question.

Responsible
government
withheld till
1872.

CHAPTER IX.

FEDERATION SCHEMES OF SIR GEORGE GREY AND LORD CARNARVON. RELATIONS WITH THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE TRANSVAAL.

Results of the Great Trek in the splitting up of the Colony.

The main result of the Great Trek had been to split South Africa up into several independent communities. Until the time of the Great Trek there had been one government for the whole of South Africa. Now in addition to the Cape, the parent colony, there were Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria. Two things had chiefly contributed to bring about this result (1) the desire of the Boers to get as far away from the Government as possible and (2) the desire of the British Government to rid itself of all responsibility for the interior of South Africa.

Evils of separation first recognised by Sir George Grey.

But the work of disunion was hardly complete when, in South Africa at least, its evil effects began to be apparent, and a counter movement was begun in the direction of closer union. Sir George Grey was the first statesman to realise the evils of separation. Before he had been two years in the country he had become convinced that the previous policy of the British Government had been a mistake, and that the separate political divisions which had been created were artificial and

a hindrance to the proper development of the country. Consequently he began to urge the necessity of some form of federal government. In New Zealand, where he had been Governor previously, he had carried out successfully a scheme of federal union, and he was anxious to do something of the same kind for South Africa.

He urges the need for a federal union.

The reasons which mainly brought him to this decision were connected with the relations he soon found himself compelled to enter into with the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In both of these states the settlement made by the British Government in 1852 and 1853 had not been a success, and Great Britain soon found that she was compelled to accept responsibility for them whether she wanted to or not. The Orange Free State was soon in a condition of anarchy, and the condition of the Transvaal was equally bad. After the Bloemfontein Convention the Boers of the Orange Free State chose Josias Hoffman as their president, and established an executive Council and a Volksraad of 56 members, the members of which were chosen by all the adult white inhabitants. Landdrosts and Heemraden administered justice in the local districts.

His reasons.

But the native question proved to be too difficult for them. The whole population of the Orange Free State amounted to 15,000 only. Moshesh refused to abide by the boundary line laid down at the time of the Bloemfontein Convention, and the Basutos who outnumbered the Boers by twelve to one, began to wander about the country raiding the Boers and stealing their cattle. This caused the outbreak of the Basuto war in 1858, when the Boer commandos invaded Basuto-

Relations with the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

Difficulties of the Orange Free State.

The Volksraad.

The Basuto question.

Basuto War of 1858.

Appeal to the Transvaal.

Convention of Aliwal North concluded by Sir George Grey.

Danger to Orange Free State from the Transvaal.

No central government at first.

Marthinus Pretorius.

Formation of the South African Republic 1856

land. Moshesh however was too powerful for them, and they found themselves compelled to apply to their neighbours across the Vaal for assistance. But the Transvaal Boers had plenty of troubles of their own to attend to, and no help was forthcoming. In their extremity they appealed to Sir George Grey, who used his influence with Moshesh to bring about a peace. The first Convention of Aliwal North was arranged, by which Moshesh was bought off by being granted an increase of territory. Sir George Grey had been compelled to send the bulk of the troops to India on account of the Mutiny which broke out at that time, and peace had to be made at any cost.

Besides their difficulties with the Basutos, the Orange Free State Boers had had to defend themselves against the attacks of their neighbours in the Transvaal. After the Sand River Convention no central government had been set up in the Transvaal, the various communities maintaining separate and independent administrations. Andries Pretorius and Hendrik Potgieter, the principal leaders of the trek, had both died in 1853. Marthinus Pretorius, the son of Andries, then became the leader, assisted by Paul Kruger. Marthinus Pretorius saw the necessity for the union of the various Boer Republics in the Transvaal. He managed to get the burghers of Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and Pretoria, to unite and form themselves into the South African Republic in 1856 under one Volksraad. Until this time the country had been in a state of complete anarchy.

The arrangement made by Pretorius was repudiated by the burghers of Leydenburg, Utrecht, and Zoutpans-

berg. But they were compelled by armed force to enter the union in 1860, and from this time on there was one central government for the whole of the Transvaal. Before the latter event took place Pretorius attempted to force the Free State to join the South African Republic. Peaceful overtures having failed, a commando commanded by Pretorius and Paul Kruger invaded the Free State in 1857. There the Boers, as we have seen, were in dire trouble with Moshesh, who profited by the feuds between the Free State and the Transvaal. The Orange River Boers resented the dictation of Pretorius whom they suspected of being in alliance with Moshesh against them.

It appeared at first as if war between the Orange River State and the Transvaal were inevitable. But better counsels prevailed. The folly of fighting with each other in face of the pressing native danger became apparent, and Pretorius withdrew to the Transvaal leaving the Orange River Boers to settle their own account with the Basutos. The Basuto war followed in 1858 and Sir George Grey was called in. When the Governor visited the Orange Free State in 1858 to settle the Basuto difficulty, he found matters in a lamentable condition. "Throughout the country" says Theal "the sufferings of the people had been such that the bravest had lost heart. Along the Basuto border and far towards the centre of the state the burghers had been reduced to extreme poverty. Murder, death in battle, sickness caused by distress, had put half the inhabitants into mourning".

In the Volksraad, opinion was divided. Some were in favour of federation with the Cape Colony, while

Completed in
1860.

Pretorius tries
to force the
Free State to
unite with the
Transvaal
1857.

His failure.

Lamentable
condition of
the Free State.

Opinion in the
Volksraad
divided.

Conference
with Sir
George Grey.

Grey opposed
to union of
the Free State
with the
Transvaal.

His reasons.

Attitude of the
Transvaal.

Sir George
Grey's famous
despatch on
the subject of
federation
1858.

others advocated union with the South African Republic. A Free State deputation was appointed to confer with Sir George Grey upon the matter. He informed them that if union was effected with the Transvaal, Great Britain would be likely to consider the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions no longer binding, and that, if such an event took place, it would be necessary to reconsider the arrangements with regard to the native tribes north of the Orange. The lawless condition of the Transvaal filled him with alarm. He had indignantly denounced the practice which prevailed there of indenturing coloured children, and was of opinion that it amounted to virtual slavery and constituted a violation of the terms of the Sand River Convention. He disapproved also of the proceedings of the Transvaal burghers with regard to the natives on the Bechuanaland frontier. The attitude of the Boers towards the missionaries, and their attempt to block the trade-route to the interior, which was then being opened up by the explorations of Livingstone, also displeased him. Lastly he believed that the majority of the Free State burghers preferred union with the Cape Colony to union with the Transvaal. Such was the situation as it appeared at the time to Sir George Grey.

His experiences with the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had convinced him of the necessity of some form of federal union for South Africa, and led him to pen his famous despatch on the subject in 1858. Just before this the Colonial Secretary, Sir Bulwer Lytton, had asked his opinion upon the question of uniting British Kaffraria and Natal to Cape Colony. This

gave Grey an opportunity to state his views fully upon the matter. His reply dealt not merely with federation, but with the whole question of British policy in South Africa.

He pointed out strongly that the existing divisions were artificial, separating as they did a people united in language, law, religion, sympathies, and habits; that union was urgently necessary in face of the serious danger from the natives, and in order to prevent wars between the various petty states; that the various governments in South Africa, with the exception of the Transvaal, were in favour of union, since the Volksraad of the Orange Free State had presented him with a petition to that effect; that the motives which had induced the British Government to agree to the dismemberment of South Africa had been mistaken, since Great Britain could not merely hold the coast and disclaim all responsibility for the interior; that the interior was not a worthless possession, as the British Government supposed, but would prove to be a valuable source of strength and profit in the future. He pointed out also the need for a common commercial policy, and prophesied the dire results which would follow from customs disputes between the different states.

To provide against these evils he proposed a form of union, embodying two main principles (1), a central Government with a Governor and a popularly elected and responsible legislature (2), local governments, the legislatures of which should have full control of local affairs. He hoped that a federal union of this kind might induce the Transvaal to join in course of time.

In his opening speech to the Cape Parliament in 1858

His
arguments.

Form of union
proposed.

His speech to
the Cape
Parliament on
the subject.

His policy not approved of by the Colonial Secretary.

Recalled for disobeying instructions.

His reinstatement.

Transferred to New Zealand 1861.

The Free State turns to the Transvaal.

Objection of the Transvaal to union.

Rejection of the scheme by the Transvaal.

he put forward this scheme. In doing so however he made a serious blunder. He had received instructions from the Colonial Secretary not to broach the subject until he had received instructions from her Majesty's Government. His policy unfortunately was not approved of by the English ministry. He received a despatch to the effect that "After weighing the arguments you have adduced, H.M. Government are not prepared to depart from the settled policy of their predecessors by advising the resumption of British Sovereignty in any shape over the Orange Free State". When the Colonial Secretary, Sir Bulwer Lytton, heard of Grey's speech to the Cape Parliament he recalled him for disobeying his instructions. A new ministry shortly afterwards came into power and Sir George Grey was reinstated, but with the condition that his policy of federation must be given up. He did not stay long in South Africa after this, and was transferred to New Zealand in 1861. He left his splendid library as a parting gift to the trustees of the public library of Cape Town.

When the Orange Free State Boers heard of the decision of the British Government, they turned towards the Transvaal and made proposals for some kind of union or alliance. The Transvaal Boers however were opposed to the project, since they were afraid it would lead to the dissolution of the Sand River Convention by England, as Sir George Grey had previously hinted, and to the extension of British protection of the native tribes on the border. This caused its rejection and put an end for the time to any attempt to unite the two republics.

After Sir George Grey's recall the question of union

lay dormant until 1874. But the events of these years showed conclusively the wisdom of Sir George Grey's policy. His successor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, was speedily convinced that Grey was right and began to advocate the same principles. He very early came to the conclusion that the abandonment of the Free State had been a mistake and that England could not disclaim responsibility for the interior. Writing on this point he said, "This step gave great dissatisfaction here at the time, and it may fairly be questioned if the British government, acting under the pressure of immediate evil, gave sufficient thought to the embarrassment that might arise out of setting up in immediate proximity to ourselves and the native tribes, a small independent state, peopled by the nearest kinsmen of the Cape Colonists, possessing their warmest sympathies, excessively weak in itself, and yet almost certain to cause us much inconvenience whenever it should please to come to an issue with the natives around". To this the British government again replied that they were not going to change their policy and could not contemplate any extension of British rule in South Africa.

Under these circumstances the prophecies of evil uttered by Sir George Grey were fulfilled to the letter.

In the Orange Free State the disputes with the Basutos over the question of the boundary were still the chief difficulty. Marthinus Pretorius had become the President in 1859. Moshesh broke the Convention of Aliwal North, which had been signed as a result of the mediation of Sir George Grey and made continual

Sir Philip
Wodehouse
1861 - 1870.

His policy.

He becomes
converted to
the views of
Sir George
Grey.

Refusal of the
British
Government.

Troubles in
the Orange
Free State.

Basuto raids.

Policy of Moshesh.

The Governor called in.

Moshesh fails to observe the treaty.

War with Moshesh.

Treaty of Thaba Bosigo
1865.

raids over the boundary. In justice to the Basutos however it must be admitted that the raids were not all on one side. The report of the Commission of 1861 showed that the Boers were often the aggressors. Moshesh saw that he could play off the Cape Colony against the Orange Free State and it was probably his deliberate aim to compel England to interfere and take him under her protection. As a result of his frequent attacks the Free State, in order to avert war, again found themselves compelled to appeal to the Governor. President Brand succeeded Pretorius at the beginning of 1864, and the Volksraad empowered him to request Sir Philip Wodehouse to act as arbiter. For the second time an English Governor had to go up and decide the question between Moshesh and the Free State Volksraad. Moshesh however, failed to abide by his decision, which had made the boundary the line previously drawn by the former British Resident at Bloemfontein, Major Warden. The usual raids and cattle-lifting continued. President Brand issued repeated warnings to Moshesh, all of which were disregarded, and at last called out his burghers and declared war.

In the contest which followed the burghers were successful. They managed to inflict heavy losses upon the Basutos and compelled Moshesh to sign the treaty of Thaba Bosigo in 1866, by which a large portion of the Basuto territory was taken by the Free State. But again Moshesh broke the terms of the treaty and the war was renewed in 1867. The Basutos were badly beaten, and in despair Moshesh asked the British Governor to take him under his protection.

A change had come over the opinion of the English government. The Duke of Buckingham was the first Colonial Secretary to understand the force of the arguments put forward by Sir George Grey. In 1868 he wrote, "It appears to me possible that the interests of our colonists and the maintenance of peace in the countries around them may render it politic to take into consideration any overtures which may be made to bring these states (the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic) in some form or other under British authority". Acting up to this opinion, he took the advice of Sir Philip Wodehouse, and in 1868 proclaimed Basutoland to be British territory.

This proceeding greatly offended the Orange Free State. There were two main grievances, (1) that the British government had come to the assistance of Moshesh when they were on the point of crushing him, and so had robbed them of the fruits of their victory; (2) that the treaty with Moshesh was a violation of the terms of the Bloemfontein Convention, one of the articles of which had stipulated that no treaty was to be made with the natives which would be injurious to the interests of the Free State. Against this it was urged that the Free State herself had broken the terms of the Convention through closing its law-courts for several months during the war and thereby denying redress to colonial creditors. In addition, as we shall see, the Free State herself acquired one of the most fertile districts of Basutoland, and by so doing had acquiesced in the arrangement. Apart from this, the treaty was justified on the ground that it put an end to a struggle

Moshesh asks to be taken under British protection.

Change in British policy.

Basutoland proclaimed British territory.

Offence thereby given to the Orange Free State.

Their grievances.

Objections to the treaty.

Reply to the objections.

Justification of treaty.

Marks a
change in
colonial policy.

Second
Convention of
Aliwal North
1869.

Death of
Moshesh.

Annexation of
Basutoland to
the Cape
Colony.

Basuto
rebellion 1880.

Separation of
Basutoland
from the Cape
Colony 1884.

Causes of
friction with
the Transvaal.

which had been going on almost continuously for twenty-five years and had been a standing menace to both the Orange Free State and the Cape Colony. It showed a great change in English public opinion, and marked a complete reversal of the previous policy of Great Britain towards South Africa.

A deputation from the Free State had proceeded to England to try to upset the settlement made by Wodehouse, but had failed in its object. The second Convention of Aliwal North in 1869 determined the new boundary. The Free State was allowed to keep a large part of the Conquered territory which it had taken in the previous war. Moshesh died at this time in 1870 at the age of 77. In the following year 1871 Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony but the control of legislation was to be left in the hands of the Governor. This arrangement held good until 1880 when the Basutos broke out into rebellion because the Cape Government passed the Peace Preservation Act as a result of the Kaffir War of 1877—'78. This act compelled the natives to give up their fire arms, which the Basutos refused to do. The war which followed was a long and costly one. It lasted till 1883 and cost four and a half millions of money. After it was over, Great Britain took over Basutoland and made it a Crown Colony separate from the Cape Colony in 1884. A resident Commissioner was appointed to control the administration.

In the Transvaal the causes of friction were different but equally serious. In spite of the unification of the various communities in 1860, the country was in a very disordered condition. "The government", says Theal,

"was so weak that to many persons it must seem a misnomer to call it a government at all. Practically it had no revenue and no police". In 1861 there was actually civil war, there being two Presidents and two rival governments. The determined measures taken by Paul Kruger in the end enforced peace after a period of anarchy not unaccompanied by blood-shed. In 1864 Mr. Pretorius became President and Paul Kruger commandant-general. This internal strife left the Transvaal in a very weak condition. "The treasury", writes Dr. Theal, "was empty, and salaries were in arrear; taxes of all kinds were outstanding and practically irrecoverable. The republic had lost the confidence of the outside world, no one any longer believed in its stability".

The most serious result of the weakness of the executive was its inability to maintain order and secure justice. The kidnapping of alleged destitute native children and selling them into virtual slavery under the name of apprenticeship, was freely practised and is proved by evidence sufficiently trustworthy. The Transvaal government itself admitted the existence of this practice, and tried to stop the evil by making the sale of such children illegal, but the executive was too weak to enforce the law against it. A great deal of correspondence on the subject passed between the Transvaal Volksraad and the Colonial Office. The British Government denounced it as a violation of the slavery clause in the Sand River Convention, and the Boers greatly damaged their reputation with public opinion in England.

Weakness
of the
government.

Civil war.

Results of this
weakness.

Kidnapping
of native
children.

Friction with
the British
Government.
on this
account.

Proclamation extending the boundaries of the Republic.

Remonstrance of the Governor.

Settlement of Portuguese boundary.

The Delagoa Bay dispute.

Quarrel caused by the discovery of diamonds.

This friction was increased by another event which happened in 1868. A proclamation by the President in that year made another breach in the Convention, greatly extending the boundaries of the Republic. The Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, immediately wrote to the President objecting to the inclusion of so much territory previously occupied by independent Bantu tribes, and compelled the Volksraad to recede from a large portion of their claims. Portugal also objected to the extension to the East, as involving an infringement of the Portuguese territory, and a Conference had to meet in 1871 and define by treaty the frontier separating the Transvaal from the Portuguese dominions. The British government realised the necessity of preventing the Transvaal from acquiring the seaport of Delagoa Bay. In 1872 the rival claims of Portugal and England to the seaport were submitted to the arbitration of the President of the French Republic.

The award was in favour of Portugal, with the important condition attached, that Portugal was not to part with Delagoa Bay to a Third Power. Wodehouse returned to England in 1870, and Sir Henry Barkly was appointed Governor.

A more serious dispute however, which involved unfortunately both the Free State and the Transvaal, occurred in 1871. This arose out of the discovery of diamonds in the territory of Griqualand West. The first diamond was discovered by accident in 1867 near the Orange River. There followed in 1870 and 1871 the discoveries at the Dry Diggings, where the town of Kimberley now stands. This led to a great migration

to the diamond fields, and immediately raised the question to whom this country belonged. The district in which the diamonds were found lay on the Western borders of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, where, owing to the supposed worthlessness of the country, the boundaries had never been precisely defined. Waterboer, the Griqua captain, claimed the greater part of the district south of the Vaal, but his claim was disputed by the Free State. North of the Vaal the area was claimed by the Griquas, the Free State, and also by the Transvaal Republic. Until the discovery of diamonds this part of the country had been almost uninhabited. The diamond-diggers themselves held a concession from a native chief and had set up an independent republic.

The dispute which followed illustrated very clearly the evils of disunion. If Sir George Grey's advice had been taken, and one government had been established all over South Africa, the two republics and Cape Colony would have been provinces instead of independent states, and boundary disputes of this kind could never have arisen. As it was, the Imperial government was the only power which could settle the dispute between the two republics and the Cape Colony, and in doing so it could hardly fail to avoid giving offence to one party or another. Waterboer realised clearly that, however good his claim, he could not hope to be able to govern the diamond-diggings himself. He thought he could make a better bargain for himself by ceding his rights to Great Britain rather than to the Free State or the Transvaal. He therefore offered to place

Waterboer's
claim.

Disputed by
the
Free State.

Attitude of
the diggers.

Dispute
emphasises
evils of
disunion.

Waterboer asks to be put under British protection. Arbitration proposed. Kimberley opposes Brand's suggestion.

The Governor accepts Waterboer's offer.

His action resented by the Free State.

Effect on union.

himself and his country under Britain protection in 1870. President Brand, meanwhile, had sent a magistrate to the district to urge the claims of the Free State. It was proposed to submit the matter to arbitration.

President Brand wanted the arbitrator to be the head of some foreign state. To this Lord Kimberley replied in a despatch of July 1871. "It seems to me that to admit the action of foreign powers in these South African possessions might lead to very serious embarrassments". On this account therefore the proposal was abandoned. Meanwhile in the diggings there was a great disorder owing to the mixed and unruly multitude which had flocked there. The Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, was convinced that the establishment of law and order was the first essential. Having convinced himself of the legality of Waterboer's title, he accepted his offer and by a proclamation annexed the territory to the British Crown under the title of Griqualand West in October 1871.

This annexation was deeply resented by the Free State, and only the moderating influence of President Brand prevented the Volksraad from declaring war. The Free State undoubtedly had strong claims, but the alternative really lay, as Dr. Theal has pointed out, between British sovereignty and an independent Diamond Field Republic. Some time after, £90,000 was paid to the Free State by Britain as compensation for her claims. From the point of view of future union, nothing could have been more disastrous than this unfortunate dispute. It put an end to that party in the Free State which had always been in favour of alliance with the Cape Colony.

In the Transvaal the irritation created was far greater than even in the Free State. The Transvaal claimed the diamond area north of the Vaal, and was also laying claim at this time to another region — the Bloemhof district — on the west of the Transvaal, occupied by the Baralonga and Batlapin tribes. Both parties agreed to submit the question to arbitration, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal being appointed arbitrator by mutual consent. On the evidence placed before him, Keate gave a decision in October 1871, which was, in both the cases of dispute, wholly adverse to the Transvaal. Part of the land that the Transvaal claimed was included by Sir Henry Barkly in Griqualand West, and the other disputed region — the Bloemhof District — was declared to be outside the boundaries of the Republic. It was the last decision that irritated the Transvaal most, since the Pretoria government had for some years exercised jurisdiction over that territory. The result was that Pretorius, the President who had agreed to the arbitration, was forced to resign, and the Transvaal turned to President Brand and proposed a union of the Transvaal and the Free State. Nothing however came of this, on account of the opposition of President Brand. Mr. Burgers, a former clergyman of Cape Colony was then elected President in 1872. As in the Free State, the dispute created in the Transvaal a deep-seated animosity to Great Britain, and put an end for the time to any hope of a federation of South Africa.

In 1872 responsible government was granted to the Cape Colony.

Gladstone's ministry, which had come into power in

Irritation in
the
Transvaal.

Claims of the
Transvaal.

The Keate
award 1871.

Effects in the
Transvaal.

Burgers made
President.

Responsible
Government.

Attitude of
the Cape.

Causes of
opposition.

Bill passed.

Its effect on
the federation
movement.

1868, was in favour of giving the Colony full control over its own affairs. In the Colony itself, however, there were many who were opposed to it, and the privilege was practically forced upon the Colony by the Home authorities. The former Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, had always been in opposition to it. There were many in the colony who were afraid that responsible government would mean the withdrawal of the British troops from the Cape, and that the Colony would thus be exposed to the expense and danger of managing the natives. The English minority feared that it would subject them to the domination of the Dutch majority. The Eastern Province was opposed to it, partly for this reason, and partly from its jealousy of the Western Province. The negrophilists and the missionaries were against it from the fear that the natives would not be adequately protected.

In 1870, however, the new governor, Sir Henry Barkly had come out. He was himself in favour of responsible government and was backed strongly by the English Cabinet. In 1871 the measure for conferring responsible government was introduced, and passed through the House of Assembly. It was then thrown out by the Legislative Council, but in the following year it passed both Houses and became law, on the Colonial Secretary's promise that the withdrawal of the troops should be delayed, and that one regiment at least should be left in the Colony in addition to those allotted for garrison duty.

The grant of responsible government undoubtedly helped on the cause of federation. The burghers in the Free State, and to a lesser extent in the Trans-

vaal also, felt that they could contemplate with greater security entering into union with a colony endowed with full responsibility for managing its own affairs, and many of them publicly expressed these sentiments. Before the diamond dispute had become acute, Sir Henry Barkly had written to the Home Government in 1871 asking whether the time had not come to reopen the question of federation. The Secretary for the Colonies Lord Kimberley, replied that he was in agreement with the Governor in this matter and authorised him to approach the Presidents of the Dutch Republics. In his speech at the opening of the Cape Parliament in 1872, Sir Henry Barkly recommended federation, and pointed out the advantages that would be gained from the whole country having the same laws, the same system of customs duties, posts, telegraphs, railways and other public works. Finally, he concluded, "if federation tended, as it undoubtedly would, to promote a milder and less encroaching policy towards the native races on the north of the Orange River, and to put an end to the much-to-be regretted disputes with the South African and Orange Republics.... its accomplishment should form, independently of all other advantages, the object of the warmest aspirations of every humane and patriotic mind".

As the result of the unfortunate friction with the two Republics occasioned by the diamond fields' dispute, Sir Henry Barkly had to write to the Colonial Secretary that to press a federation scheme at that time was inadvisable. In 1874, however Lord Carnarvon became Colonial Secretary. He had just carried

Sir
Henry Barkly
raises the
question.

Reply of the
Colonial
Secretary.

The Governor
recommends
federation fo
the Cape
Parliament.

His
arguments.

Lord
Carnarvon.

Opposition of
the Cape to
federation.

He proposes
a conference
to discuss the
question of
federation.

Froude's first
visit.

Objections in
the Cape.

Attitude of
Mr. Molteno.

Froude's
second visit.

out successfully the federation of Canada in 1867 and was full of hope that a similar federation would solve all the difficulties in South Africa. The Governor, as we have seen, had warned him that in the state of public feeling at the time it was inadvisable to raise the question. Even the Cape felt opposed to it, since union with Natal would involve them in responsibilities for the native races in that colony. Despite these warnings, Lord Carnarvon wrote to the Governor in 1875 proposing a Conference of delegates from the various South African States to discuss the matter. Mr. Froude, the historian, who had just returned from a three months tour in South Africa, undertaken at the request of Lord Carnarvon with the object of finding out the state of public opinion on the matter, was nominated as the English representative at the Conference.

The proposal was coldly received at the Cape. Responsible government had just been granted to the Colony. Jealous of their newly-acquired privileges, the Cape statesmen, and more particularly the Cape Premier, Mr. Molteno, objected to the interference of the Colonial Secretary. They held that the movement should originate with the people of South Africa, and they resented the dictatorial tone of Carnarvon's despatch. They were also afraid that federation would mean the separation of the Eastern and Western provinces and they were not prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility for the large mass of natives in Natal, where the Zulus were then beginning to cause serious trouble.

Mr. Froude's second visit to South Africa to help on the movement did not improve matters.

Just after he arrived in Cape Town, Mr. Gordon Sprigg had carried a resolution in the Cape Parliament to the effect that any movement towards federation should as far as the colony was concerned originate with the government of the Colony, acting in concert with the legislature. Serious objection had also been taken to the wholly inadequate representation of the Colony, which had been proposed by Carnarvon. It was pointed out that the Cape Colony was more than equivalent in area, in wealth, in revenue, and in resources, to all the other colonies and states put together and that it was asked to enter, represented by only two delegates, a Conference in which the Imperial Government had the control of the delegates from Natal and Griqualand West, in addition to a delegate of its own.

Such a state of feeling did not augur very well for the success of Froude's mission. He made a tour through the country and delivered a number of speeches in favour of Carnarvon's scheme. But he entirely failed to win over the Cape ministry, and the proposed conference was never held. Indeed Froude's mission did a great deal more harm than good. It confirmed the view that federation was being forced on the country from without. The numerous errors in judgment of which he was guilty, for example in taking the part of the opposition against the Government, and in fanning the jealousy already existing between the Eastern and the Western Provinces, aroused much ill feeling and did great damage to the cause of federation. He returned to England with his mission unaccomplished.

Lord Carnarvon however had not given up hope.

Resolution passed by the Cape Parliament.

The Cape objects to inadequate representation in the proposed conference.

Failure of Froude's mission.

Carnarvon
proposes a
conference in
London.

Its failure.

The
Permissive
Federation
bill.

The
annexation of
the Transvaal
and its causes.

Danger from
the Zulus.

He next proposed to the Governor Sir Henry Barkly that a conference should be held in London. This proposal savoured much more of dictation than the former one and resulted in complete failure. President Brand was in London at the time, as was also Mr. Molteno the Cape Premier. The latter refused to attend the conference, in obedience to a resolution passed by the Cape Parliament, and President Brand's hands were tied, since the Volksraad had passed a resolution that the question of federation should not be opened. Under these circumstances, with the three most important colonies in South Africa in opposition, the conference was a farce so far as the subject of federation was concerned. Only native affairs were discussed, and the larger question was held over for the time. Even then Lord Carnarvon did not give in. In order to smooth the way he prepared a draft bill for the union of such colonies as were willing to join. This was the Permissive Federation Bill, which provided for a constitution on the lines previously laid down by Sir George Grey. None of the colonies however took any notice of it and it was eventually withdrawn.

An event now happened which, while it showed the need for some form of union, had as its final result the effect of postponing the question indefinitely. This was the annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain in 1877. The principal cause which induced Great Britain to interfere in the affairs of the Transvaal at this time was the danger from the Zulus. The Zulus had been kept quiet during the lifetime of Panda, who had kept the warlike zeal of his son Cetewayo in check

But Panda died in 1872 and Cetewayo succeeded him. During the long years of peace the Zulus had become a strong fighting clan again. Cetewayo had a splendid army of some 40,000 men drilled in the regimental fashion first invented by Chaka, and was burning to wash his spears in the blood of the Europeans. He had a special grudge against the Boers of the Transvaal for two reasons. In 1875 the acting President of the Transvaal Republic had issued a proclamation annexing a territory in the south east of the Transvaal on the borders of Zululand. This territory had long been in dispute and was claimed by Cetewayo as an integral part of his dominions. The second grievance was the action of the Transvaal in claiming suzerainty over Swaziland, Cetewayo claiming to be the overlord of the Swazis.

To add to the difficulties of the Transvaal another native chief raised the standard of rebellion at this time. This was Sekukuni, chief of the Bapedi tribe, against whose father, Sekwati, the Transvaal Boers under Potgieter had waged war in the time of Benjamin D'Urban. The Christian king Khama, and the Matabele chief Lobengula, had also written to the High Commissioner complaining of attacks and oppression from the Transvaal. A commando was sent against Sekukuni which entirely failed to dislodge him. The Transvaal Government at this time was in very weak state, and quite unable to maintain order in the country. Sir Henry Barkly, who had the best means of judging, wrote concerning it at this time. "The scenes of injustice, cruelty, and rapine, which abundant evidence is every day forthcoming to prove, have rarely ceased

Cetewayo.

His quarrel
with the
Transvaal.

Rebellion of
Sekukuni.

Complaints
addressed to
the Governor.

Sir Henry
Barkly's
Statement.

British
Government
compelled to
intervene.

Sir Theophilus
Shepstone.

to disgrace the republics beyond the Vaal ever since they first sprang into existence".

This disordered state of the Republic, combined with the danger from the Zulus and the numerous complaints addressed to the High Commissioner, compelled the attention of the British Government. Lord Carnarvon was at first in great difficulty how to act. He addressed repeated complaints and remonstrances, all of which were of no avail. Finally he determined to send out as a special Commissioner Sir Theophilus Shepstone to inquire and report. Sir Theophilus Shepstone had for many years been Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, and through his unrivalled knowledge had a great influence with the Zulus and other native tribes. Natal was in imminent danger from the ambitions of Cetewayo at this time, and it had become absolutely necessary for the safety of the colony to diminish in some way the Zulu power. It would have been easy of course to allow the Zulus to wreak their vengeance on the Transvaal, but this would have involved tremendous suffering and slaughter, even if the Boers had ultimately been successful, and would have been a policy opposed to all considerations of justice and humanity.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone held a commission empowering him to adopt the policy of annexation if he was convinced of its absolute necessity, but milder measures were first to be tried with the object of bringing about an amicable settlement. Accompanied by an escort of only twenty five men from the Natal mounted police, Shepstone set out and reached

Pretoria at the end of January 1877. He immediately entered into conference with the Transvaal executive, in which the state of the country and future policy were discussed. First he tried to get the Volksraad to accept the Permissive Federation Bill drawn up by Lord Carnarvon. This was discussed and rejected by the Volksraad on the ground that they were unwilling to abandon their independence.

At that time there was a contested election for the Presidency and party feeling was very bitter. Paul Kruger was standing against Mr. Burgers, who had lost the confidence of the burghers on account of his unorthodox views and his failure in the campaign against Sekukuni. President Burgers now proposed a change in the constitution which would strengthen the executive at the expense of the Volksraad. He gave the Volksraad to understand that they had no alternative between a radical reform of their government and confederation under the British flag. This proposal was also rejected by the Volksraad. Shepstone then intimated that annexation was now inevitable. This stirred the Volksraad at last to action. Paul Kruger was elected President, Burgers was censured, and certain measures of reform were passed. None of these however could be of any effect, since the government, for the time being at all events, had broken down, and there was not enough money in the treasury even to pay the members travelling expenses. Shepstone could only keep back the Zulus by informing Cetewayo that the Transvaal was about to be made British territory.

He reaches
Pretoria.

Holds
conferences
with the
executive.

Carnarvon's
Federation
Bill rejected
by the
Volksraad.
Party strife.
Paul Kruger
and
Mr. Burgers.

Burger's
policy.

Shepstone
decides on
annexation.

Action of the
Volksraad.

Proclamation
read 1877.

Promise of
self
government.

Protest of the
Transvaal.

Deputation to
England.

State of
feeling.

The proclamation of annexation was accordingly read in the Church Square of Pretoria on the 12th April 1877. It was promised that the Transvaal would remain a separate government, with its own laws and legislature, and that it was the wish of the Queen that it should enjoy the fullest legislative privileges, "compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of the people". A formal protest was recorded by Mr. Burgers, who now withdrew to the Cape on a pension. It was intimated also that two members of the executive, Mr. Kruger and Mr. Jorriissen, were proceeding to England to oppose the annexation. At the time however there does not appear to have been any widespread feeling against the annexation, as can be seen from the fact that Shepstone had only twenty five men with him at the time, and, if there had been any strong party opposed to it, it would have been impossible for him to have carried it into effect. There were then about 10,000 adult males in the Republic, of whom about 1000 represented the English section, concentrated chiefly round the gold fields at Lydenburg. Of the remainder, the great majority, as Egerton says, "consisted of the farming population who had little time to spare for politics and who acquiesced cheerfully in the annexation, so far as it meant protection against Zulu inroads". £100,000 was advanced from the Imperial Exchequer to stave off immediate bankruptcy.

22

24

26

28

30

32

KALAHARI DESERT



Longitude 24° E of Greenwich

26

28

30

32

34

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1

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P
D

22

24

Tropic of Capricorn

24

CHAPTER X.

RELATIONS WITH THE TRANSVAAL AND FREE
STATE 1877—1889. CHANGES LEADING TO
THE ACT OF UNION.

About a fortnight before the annexation was proclaimed, Sir Bartle Frere, the new Governor and High Commissioner, arrived at the Cape and took over the Government. He was thus not responsible for the policy of annexation though he had to bear the brunt of its consequences. Frere was perhaps the ablest statesman and administrator sent to South Africa since the time of Sir George Grey. He had a splendid record of more than thirty-three years service in India behind him. In addition he was sympathetic to the Dutch population with whom he had much in common. "No people", he wrote on one occasion, "could have done during the past thirty years what the Trek Boers have done without having the materials of a great people among them, but they have hitherto had scant justice done them by either their friends or their detractors". At the same time he was an ardent Imperialist in the best sense. "You must be master", he said in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, "as representative of the sole Sovereign power up to the Portuguese frontier on both the east and west coasts". "All our real difficulties", he adds with profound

Sir Bartle
Frere
1877—"80.

His character
and policy.

His sympathy
with the
Dutch.

His
Imperialism.

Frere chosen
to carry out
federation.

The Zulu War.

Settlement
of the
boundary
question.

Frere's
ultimatum
to Cetewayo.

truth, "have arisen, and still arise, from attempting to evade or shift this responsibility".

He had however a very difficult furrow to plough in South Africa. In making the appointment Lord Carvarvon had informed him that he had been chosen "as the man best fitted to carry my scheme of confederation into effect". How he was to accomplish this in face of the prevailing opposition in South Africa, added to the disturbed state of affairs in the Transvaal, was not very evident.

The annexation of the Transvaal made Britain heir to the struggle with the Zulus. To settle the boundary question between Zululand and the Transvaal the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal persuaded Cetewayo to submit the matter to arbitration. Three Commissioners were appointed, and their report was issued in 1878. The larger part of the disputed territory was declared to belong to the Zulus. This greatly pleased Cetewayo. But along with the decision the High Commissioner issued an ultimatum to the Zulu chief requiring him to disband his army, give compensation and satisfaction for the numerous outrages he had committed, receive back the missionaries and guarantee their protection, and finally to receive a British Resident. These demands Cetewayo would never accept, and there was no alternative but war.

Sir Bartle Frere has been often blamed for thus precipitating the Zulu war. Even the British Government was not quite prepared for such strong measures. In Jan. 1879 the Colonial Secretary wrote to Sir Bartle Frere mildly censuring him for his action. "I regret"

he said, "that the necessity for immediate action should have appeared to you so imperative as to preclude you from incurring the delay which would have been involved in consulting Her Majesty's Government upon a subject of so much importance as the terms which Cetewayo should be required to accept, before those terms were actually presented to the Zulu King." At the same time, he added, he did not desire "to question the propriety of the policy you have adopted in the face of a difficult and complicated condition of affairs". Sir Bartle Frere's justification of his policy had better be given in his own words. "After the most anxious consideration", he said, "I can arrive at no other conclusion than that there is no apparent course consistent with our safety, unless we lay down definite conditions for the future government of Zululand, and compel the ruler, if necessary by force, to observe them". In other words he believed that for the safety of the colonists it had become necessary to destroy the Zulu military power.

For the military disasters which followed, Frere was in no way responsible, though here again, as in the case of the annexation of the Transvaal, he had to bear the consequences. The campaign began in Jan. 1879. The British Commander, Lord Chelmsford, prepared to advance into Zululand. Three columns, marching from three different points, were to converge upon Cetewayo's kraal at Ulundi. Chelmsford himself commanded the centre column. The first disaster occurred at Isandlwana, a steep hill ten miles east of Rorke's drift. Here Chelmsford encamped, and at daybreak

Attitude of
the Colonial
Secretary.

Frere's
reasons for
his action.

Military
disasters.

Lord
Chelmsford.

Isandlwana.

Rorke's Drift.

marched out with about half of his troops to support a reconnoitring party some miles away. When he returned late at night he found that the Zulus had attacked the camp in overwhelming numbers and had massacred all its defenders to the number of eight hundred white soldiers and five hundred natives. Immediately after, the Zulus had marched to attack the little force defending Rorke's drift, some ten miles away. Here the second great disaster took place. Rorke's drift was defended by only ninety-six men under the command of two lieutenants, Chard and Bromhead. They were attacked by three thousand Zulus late in the afternoon, and for twelve hours defended themselves heroically behind redoubts of mealie bags and biscuit boxes. At dawn Lord Chelmsford's column came in sight, marching from Isandlwana, and the Zulus retired.

Zulus defeated at Ulundi.

A long halt had now to be made till reinforcements could arrive from England. The two other columns had meanwhile managed to hold their own. In July Lord Chelmsford was able to resume his advance, this time with adequate forces. Cetewayo's kraal at Ulundi was taken. He himself was captured and sent to the Cape Colony. This finished the war and completely broke the military power of the Zulus.

Attitude of the Boers.

The bulk of the Boers had held obstinately aloof, almost the only exception was Piet Uys and his family, son of the man who had fallen in the war with Dingaan. He had joined Evelyn Wood's column and was killed at the battle fought by Wood against the Zulus at Hlobane Hill.

Piet Uys.

The Zulu War was followed almost immediately by

a war with the Boers in the Transvaal, the causes of which we must now briefly trace. As we have seen, there had been no great opposition at the time to the annexation by Shepstone, and if sufficient wisdom had been shown in the administration of the country after the annexation, the war would probably never have occurred. The first grievance the Boers had was that the promise of selfgovernment, given at the time of the annexation, remained unfulfilled. As Sir Bartle Frere said in a letter to his wife, written from Pretoria in 1879. "It was not the annexation so much as the neglect to fulfil the promises and the expectations held out by Shepstone when he took over the government that has stirred up the great mass of the Boers and given a handle to agitators". The first deputation to England had failed to persuade the British government to change its policy. On its return Paul Kruger began an active agitation for the retrocession of the Transvaal, and soon the whole country was in a ferment. The blame of the delay in granting self-government does not attach to Shepstone but to the Disraeli ministry, which was in power in England at that time.

The disasters of the Zulu war also helped to make the Boers hope to regain their independence. On this point Sir Bartle Frere wrote, "All accounts from Pretoria represent that the great body of the Boer population is still under the belief that the Zulus are more than a match for us, that our difficulties in Europe and Asia are more than we can surmount, and that the present is a favourable opportunity for demanding their independence".

The war with the Transvaal and its causes.

Grievances of the Boers.

Failure to fulfil the promise of self government.

Agitation started by Kruger.

Effect of the military disasters of the Zulu war.

Unpopularity
of Colonel
Lanyon.

A third cause of trouble was the appointment of Colonel Lanyon to succeed Shepstone as administrator in 1878. The Assembly called together by Lanyon did not satisfy the Boers, because it consisted entirely of officials and nominated members, without any popular representation. The Administrator himself, though an excellent military officer, did not understand the Dutch, and raised a great deal of opposition by his methods of collecting the taxes, to the payment of which the Boers had always a rooted objection. After the Zulu war was over, Sir Bartle Frere himself found time to visit the Transvaal just after the appointment of Colonel Lanyon. A second Boer deputation had returned from England without success. A meeting of the Boers was held near Pretoria to receive their report, and there Sir Bartle Frere held a conference with the Boer leaders and heard their grievances. They demanded the withdrawal of the British sovereignty. Frere informed them that this was out of the question, but he entirely failed to succeed in persuading them to give up their demand.

Frere's visit
to the
Transvaal.

Immediately after his return from the Transvaal Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Governor of Natal and of the Transvaal and special High Commissioner for the territories of South Eastern Africa. This appointment curtailed to a large extent Sir Bartle Frere's authority as High Commissioner. Wolseley did good service in conducting a vigorous and successful campaign against the Chief Sekukuni whom he reduced to submission. With the overthrow of Cetewayo, which took place about the same time, the native difficulty was settled, but the far more serious question of the

Sir Garnet
Wolseley
appointed
Governor of
Natal and the
Transvaal.

Sekukuni
crushed.

Transvaal remained. Wolseley completely failed to conciliate the Boers to the British rule, and the Boer leaders began to intrigue with the Dutch at the Cape.

But the ultimate responsibility for the war which followed must rest upon the shoulders of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party, who came into power in the spring of 1880. Before the General Election took place, Mr. Gladstone and his followers had made many speeches expressing sympathy with the Boers, which made them persist with greater determination in their demand for independence. When Mr. Gladstone came into power, however, he announced, with doubtful consistency, that the occupation of the Transvaal by Great Britain must be maintained. This statement caused deep disappointment to the Transvaal Boers who had been led to hope great things from Mr. Gladstone's accession to power.

The main reason which had induced Mr. Gladstone to resist the demands of the Transvaal for independence was his hope that the Cape Parliament would pass the Federation Bill. He had been assured that abandonment of the Transvaal would be fatal to the prospects of the federation scheme which he was anxious to push through as a possible solution of all his difficulties. The Boer leaders in the Transvaal were aware of this, and used all their influence to get the bill rejected by the Cape Parliament. In this they were completely successful. When Mr. Gordon Sprigg introduced his motion in favour of federation in June 1880 it was rejected, owing to the strong resistance from the Dutch members. Sir Bartle Frere was recalled and Sir Hercules Robinson appointed in his place. On Dingaan's

Mr. Gladstone
encourages the
demand for
independence.

Disappointment
of the
Transvaal at
Gladstone's
policy.

Gladstone's
reasons.

His federation
policy.

Federation
proposal
rejected by
the Cape
Parliament.

Recall of Sir
Bartle Frere
and
appointment
of Sir Hercules
Robinson.

Transvaal
Republic
proclaimed.

day 16th December, the Transvaal Republic was proclaimed, Kruger, Pretorius and Joubert assuming the executive power.

The War with
the Transvaal.

The war found the English Ministry unprepared. Hoping to the end for a peaceful settlement they had refrained from sending out troops in case such action might precipitate war. The Boers on the other hand, as Kruger himself states in his Memoirs, had been preparing for war for many months back with great activity and caution. When the war actually started the English commander, Sir George Colley, found himself with a totally inadequate force. He made the same mistake as Lord Chelmsford had made at the beginning of the Zulu war. Instead of waiting till he could move forward with irresistible force he started the campaign in a hurry when he had too few troops at his disposal. The remainder were locked up in the besieged garrisons at Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and other places.

English forces
inadequate.

The first disaster took place at Bronker's spruit. To concentrate their forces, orders had been given for the moving up of a detachment from Lydenburg to Pretoria. When within forty miles of Pretoria this force was held up by a much larger body of Boers and completely defeated, 157 out of a total number of 260 men on the English side being killed or wounded. This occurred just before the arrival of General Colley.

The Boers then concentrated at Laing's Nek in Natal to block Colley's advance through the Drakensberg to the Transvaal. The English general had only 1400 men under him. This small force was wholly inadequate for the purpose of driving the Boers from their entrenched

Bronker's
Spruit.

position. Colley ought to have waited for reinforcements, but like the English government he underestimated the strength of the Boers. Fearing that delay might lead to the fall of the garrisons at Pretoria and Potchefstroom, he prepared to attack the Boer position at Laing's Nek. The Boers were in a strongly entrenched position sheltered behind rocks. When the English troops attacked the position the Boers poured in a heavy fire, and after suffering heavy losses the English force had to retire.

General
Colley's
mistake.

Laing's Nek.

This disaster was followed by a second shortly after at Ingogo. The Boers tried to cut the General's communications. To prevent this a force of 400 men was sent out to clear the road to Newcastle. At Ingogo this force was attacked by the Boers and defeated at a cost of 160 men. Reinforcements were now being rapidly pushed up, though in small numbers, and if General Colley had been content to wait for a few weeks he would have been able to resume his advance with a sufficient force. But getting tired of delay, and eager to redeem his reputation, he resolved to make another attack on the Boer position at Laing's Nek. He determined, by means of a night attack, to capture Majuba Hill, which rises 2000 feet above the pass and commands the whole position. On the night of Saturday Feb. 26th he marched a picked body of 600 men up the steep mountain side. The men were heavily laden, the path steep and slippery, and when they reached the top at 4 o'clock in the morning they were too exhausted even to throw up entrenchments. At dawn the Boers attacked, working their way up under cover of the rocks and bushes. Shooting down the

Ingogo.

Majuba Hill.

British defeat.

Death of
General
Colley.

Its effect in
England.

The
Government
wavers.

Position of
Gladstone.

Peace made.

Convention of
Pretoria
Aug. 1881.

Its terms.

English as they went, at mid-day they gained the top, Half of the English troops had already been killed or wounded, including General Colley himself. The remainder were driven down the slopes in headlong retreat.

The effect of this defeat was to raise a cry in England to stop the war. The defeat was not a serious one. It had been the result of attempting to attack too strong a position with inadequate forces. But Sir Evelyn Wood, upon whom the command devolved after Colley's death, was in a position to resume the advance with several thousand men. Nevertheless the English government began to waver. Gladstone had never been heart and soul in favour of the war. As we have seen he had only consented to maintain the occupation of the Transvaal in order to push through his federation scheme. Now that the scheme had been definitely rejected by the Cape Parliament the main reason for his policy had disappeared. He determined therefore to treat for peace. Sir Evelyn Wood was instructed to hold a conference with the Boer leaders and come to a settlement. On being guaranteed complete self-government under British suzerainty, the Boers disbanded their forces. At Pretoria a convention was signed in the following August 1881. The British troops were withdrawn from the Transvaal, and the administration was handed over to the Boers. Complete independence was granted in internal affairs, but Britain retained the control of foreign policy. A British Resident was to remain at Pretoria, and the Boers promised to abstain from interfering with the natives.

This arrangement did not altogether satisfy some of

the burghers and attempts were made to get its terms modified. For this purpose Paul Kruger and two of his colleagues went as a deputation to London to interview Lord Derby. A new Convention called the Convention of London was signed in Feb. 1884 which introduced several important modifications. The Transvaal State was now given the name of the South African Republic. The boundaries were strictly defined and were not to be extended. Freedom of trade, travel, and residence, was to be allowed to all foreigners except natives. No tax was to be imposed upon foreign residents which was not also imposed on citizens of the Republic, and no treaty was to be concluded with any other power, except the Orange Free State, until it had received the sanction of the British Government.

These modifications had been made necessary by the aggressions of the Boers on Zululand and Bechuana-land, which led to the proclamation of British sovereignty over Zululand, and to the annexation of Bechuanaland by General Warren. After the war with the Zulus, Zululand had not been annexed, though both Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Garnet Wolseley had urged the necessity of such a policy. The country was divided into thirteen districts, to be ruled by as many petty Zulu kings under the authority of the Governor. This arrangement completely broke down. The petty kings, who were all independent of each other, fell to quarrelling, and the country was soon reduced to anarchy. At last the British Government decided to restore Cetewayo in 1883. But next year Cetewayo died, and his son Dinizulu tried to succeed to his father's position.

Transvaal
deputation
goes to
England.

Convention of
London 1884.

Its terms

Boer
aggressions in
Zululand and
Bechuana-
land.

First
settlement of
Zululand.

Its failure.

Cetewayo
restored 1883.

His death
1884.

Dinizulu
assisted by the
Boers.

The New
Republic.

Boers occupy
Zululand.

St. Lucia
Bay.

Zululand
annexed by
Britain 1887.

Boer encroach-
ments on
Bechuanaland.

The Republics
of Stellaland
and Goshen.

Trade route
blocked.

Cecil Rhodes
and the
northward
expansion
movement.

He was helped in this attempt by some of the Transvaal burghers. Lucas Meyer led a commando to his assistance, and as a reward obtained a large tract of country to which was given the name of the New Republic. Even before this the Boers had crossed over the border and taken up land in the country. This compelled the interference of the British Government, otherwise the whole country would speedily have been eaten up. By the end of 1885 it was estimated that about three-quarters of the Zulu territory was in the occupation of the Boers. To preserve the seaboard St. Lucia Bay had been taken over in 1884. Finally, in 1887, British sovereignty was proclaimed over the whole of Zululand. The New Republic which the Boers had set up had been recognised by Britain in 1886. In 1888 it was incorporated in the Transvaal, and in 1903 was formed into the Vrijheid district of Natal.

Almost exactly the same course of events led up to the annexation of Bechuanaland. The Boers began to encroach on the Bechuana to the west of the Transvaal. This led to great complaints from the missionaries and the traders. In Bechuanaland the Boers had established the two little republics of Stellaland and Goshen. The Bechuana chiefs who had been ousted appealed for British protection. The two republics blocked the trade route to the north which had been opened up by the explorations of Livingstone. There was at that time a strong party headed by Cecil Rhodes, which had for some time previously been urging the British Government to support the movement of expansion to the north. Now they were strengthened by the

necessity for protecting the Bechuanas, and at last received the support of the English Cabinet. This policy was opposed by the Dutch party at the Cape. Hofmeyr was strong enough to compel the resignation of the Scanlen ministry in which Rhodes held the office of Treasurer-general. But the British Government had made up its mind to send an expedition to Bechuanaland under Sir Charles Warren to remove the Boers. In 1885 Warren arrived with a force of 4000 men. He met with no opposition. The republics of Stellaland and Goshen were abolished. Bechuanaland was taken over by Britain and divided into two parts. The southern part was formed into the Bechuanaland Protectorate. This annexation was of very great importance. It was the first step in the forward march to Rhodesia and the lakes of Central Africa.

The years succeeding Lord Carnarvon's unsuccessful attempt to federate South Africa made the question more difficult because they witnessed the growth of a new economic and political division between the different states of South Africa. This was mainly due to the expansion caused by the diamond and gold discoveries. The first result of these discoveries was an enormous increase in wealth and population. In 1877 the total white population of the whole South African Republic was hardly more than 8,000. Twenty years later, as the result of the gold discoveries, the population of Johannesburg alone was over 100,000. South Africa had formerly been a poor and almost purely agricultural country. Now it became an important industrial centre, and its imports and exports

Protection of
the Bechuanas
urged.

Opposition of
the Dutch
party at the
Cape.

Sir Charles
Warren's
expedition.

Bechuanaland
taken over
by Britain.

Increased
difficulty of
the question
after
Carnarvon's
time.

Political and
economic
divisions
arising from
the expansion
caused by the
diamond and
gold
discoveries.

Growth of
wealth and
population.

Railways.

Competition
for the
carrying trade

Customs
disputes.

Position of the
Uitlanders.

How the
economic
divisions
arose.

Increase of
imports and
exports.

Its effects.

enormously increased. To meet this expansion of trade and industry railway lines were hurriedly constructed all over the country, and all the coast colonies began to compete eagerly for the carrying trade to the Transvaal. This led to Customs' disputes which emphasised the evils of disunion.

Besides this economic question, a difficult political problem arose at the same time from the influx of 'Uitlanders' into the Transvaal. Soon they constituted the bulk of the population and supplied also the bulk of the revenue. As a consequence they felt themselves entitled to a proportionate share in the government. The Boers as a whole had held aloof from the industrial expansion, which was mainly due to the influx of strangers from oversea. Hence there arose another cause of strife between the newcomers and the older inhabitants for political power. We have now to show how the bitterness of these economic and political disputes were aggravated by the absence of union, and how, after a long and costly war, in the end they made union an absolute necessity.

First of all then it is necessary to examine the growth of the economic divisions. The equipment of the mines, and the feeding of the population which they began to support, made necessary an importation of goods from oversea on such a scale as South Africa had never seen before. The various routes by which these goods came in ran through Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, Natal, and Portuguese East Africa. All these different states therefore began to compete with each other for the carrying trade by equipping their ports

and building railways. Hence there arose from the lack of union another line of cleavage in South Africa. Natal was quick to realise her opportunity, for Durban was much nearer Johannesburg than any Cape port. In 1891 the Natal railway was completed as far as the Transvaal frontier, and in 1895 it was extended to Pretoria. The Cape also seized the opportunity. In 1889 the Cape government made an agreement with the Orange Free State for an extension of the railway to Bloemfontein. In 1892 it was completed by an agreement with the Transvaal, and the Cape ports became linked with the Rand. Meanwhile President Kruger was busy pushing on his own line to Delagoa Bay which was the shortest route of all. For this purpose the Netherlands South African Railway Company was formed in 1887, the Transvaal being allowed to take 85 % of its net profits. Thus by the year 1895 there were three lines competing for the Transvaal carrying trade.

This commercial rivalry arising from the building of railways led to a war of tariffs. In the beginning of 1888 the first South African Customs Union Conference met at Cape Town, at which delegates were present from the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Free State. Different tariffs and fiscal barriers were felt to be obstacles to the development of South Africa as a whole, and the Conference tried to establish a uniform tariff. If political union was impossible, commercial union was felt to be necessary. The attempt proved a failure. Cape Colony was in favour of a high tariff. Natal preferred low duties and free trade. The Free State was prepared to join with whatever colony offered her the best terms.

Competition
in railway
building.

The Natal
line.

The Cape line.

The Delagoa
Bay line.

War of tariffs.

The first
South African
Customs
Union 1888.

Failure of the
attempt to
establish a
uniform tariff.

Its causes.

Effects of the tariff war.

Cape and the Free State conclude the Customs union.

Opposition of Kruger to this.

Proposal of Sir John Brand.

Cecil Rhodes and Union.

The Transvaal, relying on her back door in Delagoa Bay, refused to be represented at the Conference at all. Under these conditions the Conference could hardly be a success. The principle of free trade in South African products was agreed to, but its other deliberations ended in failure owing to the differences in opinion between the Cape Colony and Natal. A war of tariffs was the result, each colony vigilantly watching the fiscal action of the other with a view to securing the bulk of the carrying trade for itself. In this contest Natal lost nearly all her trade, for the Free State was persuaded to throw in its lot commercially with the Cape. In 1889 the Customs Union Convention was concluded between the Free State and the Cape. Basutoland came into the union in 1891 and Bechuanaland in 1893. This took place despite the strenuous opposition of the Transvaal under Mr. Kruger, who made great efforts to come to terms with the Free State and to prevent it from entering into the arrangement which extended the Cape railway to Bloemfontein. Sir John Brand resisted his appeal but proposed instead a federal constitution which should unite the two republics politically. His scheme however did not meet with the approval of Mr. Kruger and had to be withdrawn.

During the period when Cecil Rhodes was Premier of Cape Colony from 1890 onwards, the strife became more and more acute. Like all the great statemen of South Africa, Rhodes was strongly in favour of union. "It is with the idea of Union", he said on one occasion, "that I entered politics; this is what I have steadily advocated throughout my political life". With this

object in view Rhodes invited the Boer republics to adhere to a joint policy of railway construction, and in 1895 a Conference for this purpose was held at Cape Town. It then became clear that the Transvaal held the advantage of all the three states so far as railway traffic was concerned, because it held the ends of all the three lines converging on Johannesburg. This fact put the other states in a very awkward position. If there had been a union, even a commercial union, between the various states, such disputes would have been impossible, since all the railway revenue would have gone into a common fund. But each state thought only of its own interests, and the Transvaal was prepared to push its advantages to the uttermost. It was to the advantage of the Transvaal to have the bulk of the traffic entering Johannesburg from Delagoa Bay, since on goods brought by way of Delagoa Bay, rates were payable to the Netherlands Company over 340 miles of railway, as compared with 180 miles on goods brought from Durban, and only 50 on goods from the Cape ports. At the Conference therefore the Transvaal delegates offered the Cape only a quarter share of the traffic to the Rand. The Cape government refused to agree to so small a proportion, and claimed two-fifths, so that the conference resulted in failure.

The action of the Transvaal nearly led to war with the Cape Colony. The Transvaal government proceeded to charge such high rates over the 50 miles of line from the Vaal river to Johannesburg as would be sufficient to drive all the traffic round by Delagoa Bay. To prevent this the Cape ran a siding down to Viljoen's

Railway
conference
1895.

Railway
disputes.

Attitude of
the
Transvaal.

Dispute with
the Cape.

Transvaal
tries to drive
the traffic
round by
Delagoa Bay.

Action of the Cape.	drift in 1895, and arranged with transport riders to deliver goods by wagon across the drift to Johannesburg, at rates which compared favourably with those charged via Durban and Delagoa Bay. Mr. Kruger replied to this move by closing the drifts. The Cape government declared that this action constituted a breach of treaty rights, and requested Great Britain to assert these rights, offering, if force were necessary, to defray half the cost of the war. Here then we find the Imperial power on the point of going to war on a matter which, if Sir George Grey's advice had been taken, would have been settled by the South African people themselves. As it happened however President Kruger was not prepared to go to war at the moment and withdrew from his position.
Kruger closes the drifts.	
Threat of war.	
Withdrawal of President Kruger.	
The political struggle in the Transvaal.	War however was only a question of time. The political struggle between the two sections in the Transvaal, the Boers and the Uitlanders, was becoming more and more bitter, and there was no government representing the whole of the South African people to settle it. In 1895 the Jameson raid occurred to make the situation more difficult than ever. It had the effect of strengthening Kruger's government and uniting the Afrikander party with the object of establishing a united South Africa under a republican flag. Three years of bitter controversy followed. In 1896 the Orange Free State at last joined the side of the Transvaal. The strife between the Uitlanders and the Transvaal government became more bitter than ever. The war followed and the whole Empire was dragged in.
The Jameson Raid. Its effects.	
Free State joins the Transvaal.	
The war.	
Its effect on Union.	On the war itself it is not necessary to dwell except

to consider how far it contributed to the only possible settlement of the South African question, namely the accomplishment of union. The great obstacle to any scheme of Union had been the existence of three separate sovereignties in South Africa. The main result of the war from the point of view of Union was that it abolished two of these separate sovereignties and left only one. But for the moment it decided nothing more. Even after the war there were still separate governments for Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, Cape Colony and Natal being under responsible governments, the other two being Crown colonies, governed first by Lord Milner and then by Lord Selborne. There were still questions of customs, railway rates, native policy, etc. in hot dispute between these governments, and there was no power that could be called in to settle them in the last resort except the Imperial government. So long as the two inland colonies were Crown colonies all these questions were prevented, though with great difficulty, from coming to the boiling point by the personal influence of the High Commissioner with the Government of Cape Colony and Natal. But it was clear that the case would be altogether different when the two Crown colonies got responsible government. Then the four independent democracies would be left face to face with each other. Two alternatives only would then be inevitable, either the renewal of open conflict which would set back the whole development of South Africa, or the establishment of a single responsible government, competent to settle any dispute which might arise between them.

New position
after the
war.

Subjects of
dispute.

Influence of
the High
Commissioner.

Two
alternatives.

Responsible government granted to the Transvaal and the Free State.

Customs Union conferences.

Influence of the commercial depression.

First step taken by Dr. Jameson.

Lord Selborne's memorandum.

When responsible government was established in the Transvaal in December 1906 and in the Orange River Colony in June 1907, it was felt generally throughout South Africa that the time had at last come for pushing on the long delayed movement for a union of the different colonies. In 1903 and again in 1906 there had been Customs Union Conferences which had succeeded in establishing a Customs Union for the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Southern Rhodesia, and the Protectorates. But that union was to a large extent stultified by the right claimed by the different colonies to impose differential railway rates on traffic passing through their respective territories. These arrangements were of the nature of a compromise and were wholly satisfactory to nobody, and any moment there was the possibility of a disruption and the renewal of a tariff war.

These considerations, combined with the acute commercial depression which followed the war, turned the minds of South African statesmen to Union in some form or other as the only possible remedy. In May the first step forward was taken when Dr. Jameson the Cape Premier requested the Governor of the Cape to invite Lord Selborne to review the present mutual relations of the British South African colonies "with the object of giving the people of South Africa a timely opportunity of expressing a voice upon the desirability, and if acknowledged, the best means of bringing about a central national government, embracing all the colonies and protectorates under British South African administration". Lord Selborne's memorandum on the subject was published

on July 3 1907. Its able summary of the existing situation created a strong impression throughout South Africa and gave a powerful impetus to the Union movement. The action taken by Dr. Jameson and Lord Selborne at this critical juncture identified the Imperial cause with the cause of Union.

The Dutch party cooperated with the English in the Cape Parliament, where Mr. Malan proposed a motion in favour of union. His motion was seconded by Dr. Jameson and carried unanimously. This established a precedent which was followed in all the other parliaments in South Africa. Meanwhile an inter-colonial conference to discuss the Customs question had been called to meet at Pretoria on May 4 1908. At this conference General Smuts proposed six resolutions on the subject of closer union. The first was to the effect that in the opinion of the conference the best interests and permanent prosperity of South Africa can only be secured by an early union, under the Crown of Great Britain, of the several self-governing colonies. The second provided for the subsequent admission of Rhodesia into the Union. The third pledged the members of the Conference to submit the resolutions to the Legislatures of the respective colonies and to obtain their consent to the appointment of delegates to be sent from each colony to a National South African Convention with the object of considering and reporting upon the most desirable form of union and of drawing up a constitution. The fourth prescribed the number of delegates to be sent from each colony. The fifth made provision for the publication of the draft con-

Its effect.

Attitude of the Dutch party.

The intercolonial conference.

General Smuts' six resolutions.

Delegates nominated to the National Convention.

Meetings of the Convention.

Publication of the Draft Act.

Its passage through the colonial Parliaments. Amendments.

Mr. Schreiner's amendment defeated.

The Natal Referendum.

stitution and the further steps to be taken with regard to it. The sixth settled the method of voting in the Convention, by individuals and not by states, and provided for the election of a chairman.

All parties therefore now agreed to the appointment of a National Convention to discuss the terms of union. Delegates from the various colonies were nominated by the different governments and appointed by the Parliaments. On October 12 the National Convention met at Durban under the presidency of Sir Henry de Villiers. On November 5 the Convention adjourned to Cape Town and continued its sittings with a short interval till February 3 when, having completed its labours, it adjourned. On February 9 the draft Act was published. It met with almost unanimous approval and passed quickly through the remaining stages. Various amendments were proposed by the Cape and Natal Parliaments, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony accepting the draft Act as it stood. The National Convention then met again at Bloemfontein and issued a second report embodying amendments, which included the abandonment of the system of proportional representation in favour of single member constituencies. When the matter was again referred to the colonial parliaments an amendment proposed by Mr. Schreiner in the Cape Parliament with regard to the franchise rights of the coloured people was rejected by a large majority. In Natal the final draft was submitted to a referendum of the people and adopted by a majority of nearly eight thousand. Delegates from the various states then proceeded to England to assist in the pas-

sage of the Act through the British Parliament. The Bill passed through both Houses without opposition, and May 31 was fixed as the date for the commencement of the Union.

Bill passes the
British
Parliament.

APPENDIX.

COMPARISON OF THE UNION ACTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA.

Comparison of
the different
forms of
colonial union.

Union and
federation
contrasted.

Features in
common.

The Central
Government.

The
Legislature.

The act of union can be best understood by comparing it with the various forms of union prevailing in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. All three have many features in common, though South Africa differs from the other two in one fundamental respect, namely in being a union instead of a federation. The essential difference is, that in a union all power is vested in the central government, whereas in a federation the power is divided, within widely varying limits, between the central government and the provincial governments. Thus in South Africa the provincial governments can only exercise such powers as are delegated to them by the central government, while in the case of Canada and Australia the provincial governments have powers reserved to them in the federal constitution, powers which they exercise independently of the will of the central government. But in spite of this fundamental difference all three have many features in common which can be easily distinguished.

First then with regard to the central government in all three, the central Legislature consists of the King and

a Parliament of two Houses, the King being represented by a Governor-General appointed by the Crown. The House of Assembly represents the people usually on a population basis. Thus in Canada Quebec was taken as the standard, and was given the fixed number of 65 members, the other provinces in the federation being represented in proportion to their numbers. In Australia the House of Representatives was to consist of not more than 75 members also elected on a population basis. In South Africa the problem was more difficult owing to the existence of a large native population. In the Cape the natives possessed the franchise — the right to vote. In the other provinces they were excluded. A compromise had therefore to be made. In the Cape those natives who possessed the franchise before Union were not to be disqualified, but in the other provinces the franchise was confined to male adults of European descent. A further departure from the principle of representation in proportion to population had to be made in favour of the smaller provinces, so that the total of 121 members constituting the House of Assembly was made up as follows :

Cape Colony	electing	51.
Natal	„	17.
Transvaal	„	36.
Orange Free State	„	17.

In South Africa, provision was made for increased representation from time to time in proportion to the increase of population in each province.

In the structure of the House of Representatives the most important question is the franchise. In Canada,

The House
of Assembly.

(a)
In Canada.

(b)
In Australia.

(c)
In South
Africa.

The franchise
question.
In the Cape.

Concession to
the smaller
provinces.

Composition
of the Union
House of
Assembly.

Provision for
increased re-
presentation.

The Federal
franchise.

(a)	In Canada.	there was at first no uniform federal franchise, the qualifications of electors in each province being the same as those required for electors to the provincial House of Assembly. In the federal constitution however power was given to establish a federal franchise as distinct from a provincial franchise, and this power was finally put into force in 1885. In Australia also the state franchise was declared valid at first, the Commonwealth Parliament having the right at some future time to establish a uniform federal franchise.
(b)	In Australia.	
(c)	In South Africa.	In South Africa the Union constitution laid down the principle that "the qualification of parliamentary voters as existing in the several colonies at the establishment of Union shall be the qualifications necessary to entitle persons in the various provinces to vote for the election of members of the House of Assembly". It was added however that Parliament may by law prescribe the qualifications which shall be necessary to entitle persons to vote at the election of members of the House of Assembly,
Provision with regard to the native franchise.		"but no such law shall disqualify any person in the province of the Cape of Good Hope who, under the laws existing in the colony at the establishment of the Union is or may become capable of being registered as a voter from being so registered in the province of the Cape of Good Hope by reason of his race or colour only, unless the Bill be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together, and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses".
Duration of the House of Assembly.	In Canada and in South Africa the House of Assembly was to continue for five years, in Australia for three	

years, but it may be dissolved sooner if necessary by the Governor General.

In the constitution of the second House - the Senate - the principle of State equality was adopted in Canada and in Australia. This assigns to every state, large or small alike, an equal number of representatives. This was copied from the American constitution, where it was found necessary to protect the interests of the smaller states. In Canada for this purpose the Maritime provinces were grouped together as a single division, while Ontario and Quebec each formed separate divisions. Each of the three divisions was to be represented by 24 senators. Additional numbers have since been added to represent the provinces that have since joined the federation, so that the total number is now 87. In Australia each province is represented in the Upper House by six senators. In South Africa a somewhat different principle was adopted. Eight senators are nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council and hold their seats for ten years. One half of their number are "selected mainly on the ground of their thorough acquaintance with the reasonable wants of the coloured races of South Africa". In addition to these, eight senators were elected for each province by both Houses of the existing colonial Legislatures sitting together as one body. Such senators hold their seats for ten years. Thus the first Senate of the Union was constituted. At future senate Elections the Eight Senators who represent any province are elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly for the Provinces sitting together with the members of the Provincial Council

The Senate.

Principle of
State equality

In Canada.

In Australia.

In South
Africa.

Method of
electing
Senators.

(a)
In South
Africa.

for the Province as an elective body. In case of a vacancy the provincial Council of the Province for which such senator was elected has the right of choosing his successor. The Senate thus consists of 40 members.

(b)
In Canada.

In Canada the senators are not elected, but are nominated for life by the Dominion government. This system has not proved a success and accounts to a large extent for the lack of weight the Canadian Senate has in the councils of the nation. This defect was recognised in Australia, where the senators were to be directly chosen by the people of each State, voting, until the Parliament otherwise provides, as one electorate. These senators hold office for a term of six years, half the senators retiring every three Years, so that the whole Senate is never changed completely at the same time.

The Central
Executive.

With regard to the central executive, all three forms of union follow the same principles, with differences only in detail. In all of them the Executive government is vested in the King, and administered either by the King in person or by a Governor-General as his representative. An Executive Council advises the Governor General in the government and the members of the Council are chosen by the Governor General according to the system of responsible government, by which ministers are dependent on the majority in the representative chamber.

Division of
powers
between the
central
government
and the local
governments.

In Canada and in Australia a division of powers was made between the central government and the local governments, based on the principle that all matters affecting the provinces generally were left to the Central government, while local matters, affecting

Points in
common.

only the particular provinces, were left to the provincial legislatures. But, since no distribution however careful can possibly include beforehand all the powers that a government may have to exercise, a further question arises, namely, to which authority — the central government or the local government — is this unallotted residue of powers to be consigned? The answer given to these two questions depended on the strength of the provincial feeling existing at the time when the federation was established. In Canada the provinces were not so jealous of the central power as they were in the case of America, and there was a strong prejudice against American institutions, especially against state rights. The American Civil War had shown the difficulties arising from a conflict between the two Sovereignties. So in the distribution of powers a different principle was adopted from that prevailing in America. A list was drawn up of powers which were to be reserved to the central government, and a second list of those which were to be left to the provincial governments. All powers not included in either list were to be regarded as belonging to the central government, and not, as in America, to the State governments. That is the vital point of difference between the Canadian and the American federations. Thus to the central government were assigned 29 specified powers, such as taxation for national purposes, borrowing of money on the public credit, regulation of trade and commerce, posts and telegraphs, defence, currency, control of the public debt, etc. The provincial powers, 16 in number, were defined as being 'limited to all matters of a merely

Principle of
such division.

Unallotted
powers.

Division of
powers in the
Canadian
Constitution.

Powers
reserved to the
central
government in
Canada.

Powers of the provincial legislature in Canada.

The Lieutenant Governors.

Judges of the provincial courts.

Sovereign powers of the provinces.

Powers of legislation in all local matters.

Constitutions of the provincial legislature in Canada.

local or private nature in the Province", such as the power of raising revenue for provincial purposes, borrowing of money on the sole credit of the Province, the control of local institutions, etc.

The powers of the provincial legislatures are thus more strictly limited in Canada than they are in America. The Lieutenant Governors of the Provinces are federal officers appointed and paid by the Dominion government and acting under instructions from the Dominion executive. They can veto acts of the provincial legislatures, or reserve them for the assent of the Governor General, who can veto provincial laws in the same way as the King can veto Dominion laws. The judges of the provincial courts are also appointed and paid by the Dominion government, which also, as we have seen, appoints the Senators for each province. At the same time the Canadian provinces are not, as in South Africa, mere administrative divisions of a unified state. They have important sovereign rights of their own. They have power to amend their own constitutions except as regards the office of Lieutenant Governor. They have power to raise the greater part of the provincial revenue, and they have complete control over their own expenditure. They have the control and management of lands within the province, of municipalities, local works, education, administration of justice and general powers of legislation in all local matters. The provincial legislatures vary in their constitutions. Ontario chose to have a legislature of only one Chamber which is elective. Quebec preferred a legislature of two chambers, one elected and the other nominated.

The other two provinces, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, retained their two chamber legislatures unaltered.

In Australia, at the time of the federation, the federal conditions were very similar to those prevailing in America. There was a strong feeling in favour of State rights, so that the Australian system of local government followed very closely the American model. The Australian colonies could scarcely be persuaded to give up even the minimum of power to the Federal government. So, as in America, and in contrast to Canada, the undistributed powers were left to the States' governments, which underwent no change in their constitutions as the result of federation. They simply continued as before, after giving up, as in the case of Canada, certain specified powers dealing with common affairs to the federal government.

In South Africa there was, as in Canada, a universal feeling in favour of a strong central government, and the different provinces were found to be willing to give up all their powers to the Union Parliament. The question of the distribution of powers therefore did not arise. The colonial parliaments ceased to exist, and provincial Councils were put in their place with powers to make ordinances on local matters. The Union constitution enacts that there shall be a Provincial Council in each of the four provinces consisting of not less than 25 members. Each Provincial Council shall last for 3 years. In all the four provinces there shall be a chief executive officer appointed by the Governor General who shall be called the Administrator of the Province and in whose name all executive acts

Division of powers in the Australian Constitution.

The undistributed powers. States' Constitutions remain unchanged.

In South Africa all powers in the hands of the Union Parliament.

System of Provincial Councils for local affairs.

The Provincial Executive.

The Administrators.	relating to provincial affairs shall be done. He shall hold office for a term of five years. Each Provincial Council shall elect from amongst its members or otherwise, four persons, to form with the Administrator an Executive Committee for the Province. This Executive Committee shall, on behalf of the Provincial Council, carry on the administration of provincial affairs. Any ordinance made by a Provincial Council shall have effect in and for the Province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of Parliament. A Provincial Council may recommend to Parliament the passing of any law relating to any matter in respect of which such Council is not competent to make ordinances.
The Executive Committees.	
Ordiances of the Provincial Councils.	

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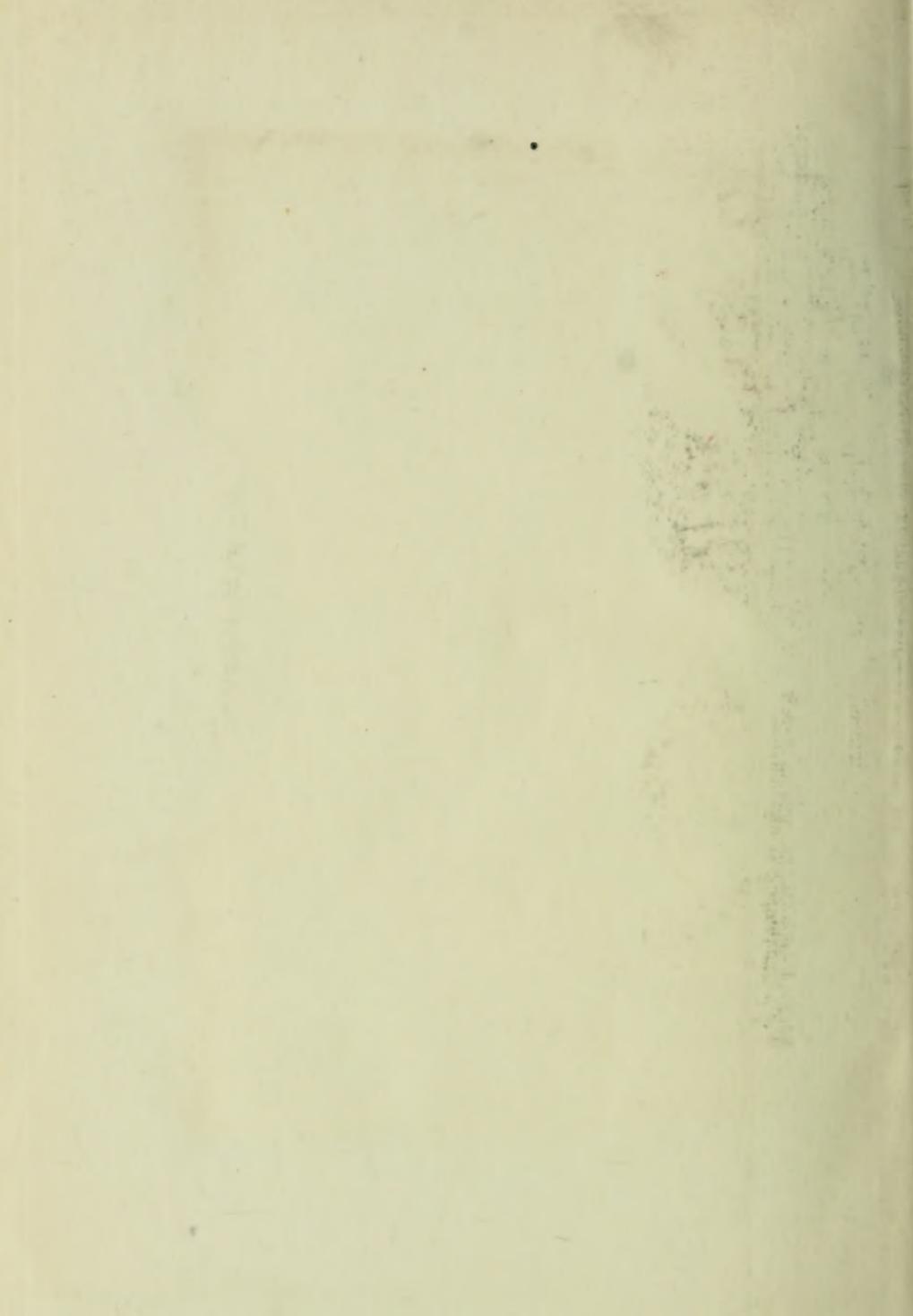
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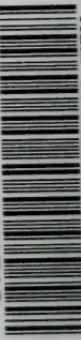
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